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Socialism Versus Fads.



LACK of what Whewell so aptly calls "the habit of geometrical thought" is noticeable in much of the confusion which upsets men's judgment of Socialism. Many persons, earnest in their work for the co-operative commonwealth, have only one measure for all problems. From their iron prejudices they forge a Procrustean bed upon which they stretch every event too small to fit it and foreshorten every long-limbed fact which has the misfortune to stick over its rigid limits. Thus, as Locke has observed, "some men have so used their heads to mathematical figures, that in giving a preference to the methods of that science, they introduce lines and diagrams into their study of divinity or political inquiries, as if nothing could be known without them; and others accustomed to retired speculations run natural philosophy into metaphysical notions and the abstract generalities of logic; and how often may one meet with religion and morality treated of in the terms of the laboratory, and thought to be improved by the methods and notions of chemistry?"*

Evidences of the effect of this method abound in every age. Thales of Miletus, the founder of Greek philosophy, based his teachings of Nature on the theory that out of water all things are made. Water is the primal matter and the earth itself floats upon water. The great Philo of Alexandria taught, after the manner of Plato, that the stars are persons endowed with reason and akin to the Divinity. The early churchmen took the Bible as the sole measure of scientific truth and, in consequence, fell into the most childish errors. Many of them denied the sphericity of the earth and the existence of the antipodes. The learned St. Augustine declared that no men live on the other side of the earth because "Scripture speaks of no such descendants of Adam."

* Conduct of the Understanding, sec. 24.

Martin Luther bitterly assailed the heliocentric theory of Copernicus and asserted that "this fool wishes to reverse the entire science of astronomy; but sacred Scripture tells us that Joshua commanded the sun to stand still, and not the earth."* When Newton advanced the doctrine of the unequal refrangibility of different rays to account for colors, Goethe wrote his *Farbenlehre* (Tübingen, 1810), in fierce opposition to the doctrine. He held up Newton to the world as a scientific impostor, and propounded the utterly absurd hypothesis of "the dim medium." Both his training in Natural History and his poetic turn of mind operated to unfit him for the tasks imposed by the mechanical sciences and, in the words of Tyndal, "he became a mere *ignis fatuus* to those who followed him."** We know that it took the geologists one hundred years to prove that fossils are organic. Voltaire*** ridiculed Bernard Palissy, Moro, and Vallisneri and argued that fossils are mere sports of nature due to the plastic power of the earth itself. And it required almost one hundred and fifty years to prove that fossils are not to be referred to the Noachian deluge.

Indeed, almost every new science has to suffer from its function and limitation warping and misconceiving from within and without. The science of economics has not escaped a like experience. Some men take it out of the realm of the practical and the material and set it up as the standard to which all knowledge and faith must conform or suffer rejection. In its name they damn all creeds and dogmas. As part of what they consider the legitimate philosophy of Socialism they deny the spirituality of mind and the existence of an unseen world, or affirm the necessity of vegetarianism and the Suchness of the Mahâyâna. Anti-vaccination, absent treatment, vitaopathy, Buddhism, osteopathy, faith-cure, total abstinence, free love, self-hypnotic healing, personal vibration, breakfast foods, atheism, naturopathic regeneration, astrology, or drugless medication—as the case may be—are offered us in virtue of, and by logical inclusion with, the Socialism of the man who has only one measure for all things.

I remember, a little over a year ago, with what amazement I listened to a lecturer on Socialism who, with evident relish, quoted this sentence from Dr. Paul Carus: "The essential feature of existence, of that which presents itself to the senses, is not the material, but the formal; not that which makes it concrete and particular, but that which constitutes its nature and applies generally; not that which happens to be here, so that it is this, but that

* Andrew D. White; *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*, vol. I., ch. III., p. 126. New York, 1901.

** *Fragments of Science*, vol. II., ch. ix., p. 148. New York, 1897.

*** *Oeuvres complètes de M. de Voltaire*, Paris, Sanson et Cie., 1792, vol. 43, p. 131 et seq.

which makes it to be thus; not its Thisness but its Suchness."* The discourse itself was vaguely soothing, like James Jeffrey Roche's Concord love-song:

"Ah, the Ifness sadd'ning,
The Whichness madd'ning,
And the But ungladd'ning
That lie behind!

When the signless token
Of love is broken
In the speech unspoken
Of mind to mind!"

But imagine the flood of pure white light which such a discourse poured into the brains of the non-Socialists of that audience! At the worst, however, it was Socialism only in the Pickwickian sense and did not roughly antagonize any one's private beliefs. The lecturer was deeply interested in things occult and could not resist the opportunity, which an audience gathered to hear of Socialism gave him, to expound his favorite doctrines concerning the Nirvāna.

On the other hand one frequently meets with the man who prefaces his explanation of Socialism by insisting, like Büchner in matters of science, that the mind must first be emptied of all ideas of God and the supernatural before it is in a proper condition to receive the philosophy of Karl Marx. He wanders far afield to attack this church or that dogma and leaves his hearer under the impression that Socialism is essentially atheistic. He blames all the misery and ignorance in the world upon religion and seems never to have learned that a materialist conception of history puts beyond doubt the fact that the social organism is, in a very large measure, conditioned by its interaction with industrial environment, and that a comparative study of religions shows the influence of economic factors in much of their development. Such a man does positive harm to the cause of Socialism; and he is just as unreasonable and as unscientific as the preacher who insists on basing the science of economics upon his own particular creed.

There is, furthermore, the utterly inconsistent fad of "Christian Socialism," whose upholders put forth the dogma of the Fatherhood of God as the ground-work of economic science and then proceed to build upon it a superstructure as much out of plumb as the leaning tower of Pisa. They contend that Labor and Capital must recognize their mutual rights,—that, in other

* Preface to Acvaghosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana, p. vii. Chicago, 1900.

words, the lamb must lie down in the lion's belly and rely upon its coat of wool to protect itself from the searching acid of the gastric juices thereof. They would have men led into the highways of industrial righteousness by the allurements of Gospel texts, unmindful of the fact that nineteen centuries of such blandishment have failed to soften the granite heart of the ruling classes. The New Testament was never designed to serve as a treatise on Socialism any more than it was intended to teach the first principles of Biology. With profound reverence for its beautiful pages, I find it vastly inferior to Huxley and Martin's "Practical Biology" and Karl Marx's "Das Kapital," for the same reason that I find Homer's "Iliad" inferior to Remsen's "Chemistry," for when I want to study either of these sciences I can discover no knowledge of the protoplasm in St. Matthew and no guides to quantitative analysis in Homer. This fact, however, does not hinder me from giving full value to the letters of St. Paul nor from appreciating the rhythm and swing of the lines that carry that ancient swashbuckler Achilles.

But when the crazy charge of infidelity is urged against us and a bishop forces a Father McGrady to resign because of his advocacy of Socialism, we may rightly say with Thoreau: "Really, there is no infidelity, nowadays, so great as that which prays, and keeps the Sabbath, and rebuilds the churches." Surely, it is a flagrant infidelity which denies all Truth which does not bear the approval of a bishop's *imprimatur*. It is a subtle atheism which admits the existence of God and then in His Name refuses economic salvation to millions of His creatures; which prays to Heaven and builds churches for worship and then tacitly sanctions the Capitalism which burns the marrow out of orphans' bones.

One is tempted to borrow from Mary MacLean's litany and exclaim: "From such 'Christian Socialism' kind devil deliver us!" The name is misleading. We do not speak of Christian astronomy nor of Christian geology for the obvious reason that these sciences are concerned about a different order of things than that of Christianity. They lie outside the domain of the spiritual just as much as Socialism does. Men of judgment would be quick to condemn the chemist who might claim finality of criticism upon a painting of Leonardo da Vinci from an analysis of the oils and pigments used in the famous study of "The Last Supper." They would, indeed, concede the results of his analysis, but only in so far as the limits of chemistry go, and not as against the verdict of a Ruskin or a Mrs. Jameson. In like manner we are justified in rejecting the Church's criticism of Socialism to the same extent that scientists refused to accept the condemnation of Galileo by the Holy Roman Inquisition, of Copernicus by Luther, and of

Prof. Winchell by the Methodist Episcopal authorities of the Vanderbilt University in Tennessee.

Socialism must be maintained within the well-defined lines of economic science. It is broad enough for men of all thought, but it is altogether too big for sectarian prejudice, bigotry and fads. The genuine Socialist looks from the heights upon such things and has long ago learned that the largest tolerance is to be tolerant of intolerance, because his philosophy gives him a perspective wide enough in its sweep to gauge the relativity of such affairs. Although both words are philologically of the same blood, there is a vast difference between "patience" and "passion." Patience is the well-regulated persistence of the scientist in search of knowledge, whereas passion stumbles with the blindness of the enthusiast, of the man with only one measure for all problems, who twists and warps them to fit his Procustean bed. It is incumbent upon the scientist to be patient in his work and to lock out the confusion of fads from the precious laboratory of Socialism.

Thos. J. Hagerty.

A Patent Medicine for Trusts.



WHILE I am writing these lines, Congress is buried under a veritable flood of anti-trust bills. The dominant tendency is in favor of a frank recognition of the fact that the trusts have come to stay and that they must be placed under public control. This is certainly a vindication of the Socialist position, though our statesmen and economists are, not unnaturally, loath to admit the fact. "Competition" is still the word. The policy in relation to trusts should be "one which welcomes centralization, but represses monopoly," says Prof. John Bates Clark, of Columbia University, unwittingly paraphrasing Mr. Dooley.

That under free competition the wage-worker, the capitalist and the landlord draw each his equitable share in the joint product of labor, capital and land, none but the benighted Marxists will deny, after the publication of Prof. Clark's "Distribution of Wealth." If everyone gets his dues, there is no exploitation of labor by capital. "There is no pain," as the Christian Scientist said to Mark Twain, and society is saved.

We have chosen Prof. Clark for our text advisedly, for he is looked up to by his craftsmen as the foremost leader of economic thought in America. Now, that competition is on trial, he has ventured out before a larger audience with "an argument in favor of curbing the trusts by a natural method,"* which has evidently inspired our solons who are now devising ways and means to remedy the evils of the trusts. A talk with so eminent an authority will therefore be both timely and instructive.

Of course, Prof. Clark would not "try the experiment of State Socialism." Says he:

"There is no doubt that the growth of trusts has caused State Socialism to present itself to many a mind as a possible alternative for a regime of monopoly; and if it were the only alternative, the case for it would be a strong one. As between a system of unregulated monopolies in private hands and one great public monopoly, many a man will prefer the latter. The situation, however, is not so serious. The trust is not now unregulated, and is by no means incapable of further regulations." (pp. 54-55.)

Prof. Clark's plan of regulation would protect "the public," i. e., the consumers, by aiding the independent manufacturer, because his interests are at bottom identical with those of the con-

* The Control of Trusts.

An argument in favor of curbing the power of monopoly by a natural method.
By John Bates Clark.

sumer, though the latter may derive a temporary benefit from a reduction of the price below the normal level, yet as soon as competition is crushed he is made to pay the cost of war. The public, as consumers, have therefore a vital interest in maintaining competition. This policy, if adopted, is bright with the promise of a happier day. "You will see workers acquiring capital, while still earning wages in the mill; and, as an outcome not so remote as a Philistine view would make it, you may see production moving so steadily that the bonds of great corporations, and even the stocks, may become common and safe forms of investment of workmen's savings. You will see them used so freely for this purpose that the old and sharp line of demarcation between the capitalist class and the laboring class will be blurred and at many points obliterated. The men who work will have a proprietary interest in the tools of labor and a share in what the tools produce. The Socialist is not the only man who can have beatific visions, for the picture of a manly development for the laborer—of a perpetual rise in wages and increase in savings, in home owning, in personal independence, and in culture—is presented to everyone who sees what competition is capable of doing." (pp. 10-11.)

Suppose, never, the hydra of monopoly should somehow manage to escape the doom to which it is consigned by Prof. Clark and our legislators now deliberating at Washington? What then? "Monopoly is unendurable," he says. "If we cannot exterminate it or reduce it to harmless dimensions, we shall begin even to listen to the seductions of the Socialists. . . . Momentous beyond the power of language to measure is the question whether centralization may be allowed to go to utmost lengths without fastening on the people the intolerable burden of monopoly. Answer this question in one way, and you will probably be a Socialist; and certainly you ought to be one." (pp. 8-9.)

At this juncture the wicked heart of the Socialist is moved by the feeling Mephistopheles must have had when trying to lead good old Dr. Faust into temptation. We shall show our own doctor his scheme in operation, assuming without argument that the law could be so framed as to escape the Scylla of "class legislation" and the Charybdis of "unconstitutionality."

Prof. Clark would not "prescribe by law the prices at which goods must be sold." Many are "the difficulties encountered by such a policy."

"It would require commissions containing many members, all wise and incorruptible. It would require superhuman skill in devising and applying a scientific rule for adjusting prices. Granting that commissions having such impossible qualities could be secured and that their action could be made effective, the result

would have to resolve itself into a regulation of profits. The only basis on which prices could be prescribed would be one of cost. We should wish to leave the producer a return that would pay fair wages, managers' salaries, interest on capital and insurance against risks. We should make the price, in short, cover cost of production, as liberally and scientifically interpreted." (p. 53.)

Such a task is thought impossible of accomplishment, whereas "competition itself tends to make prices conform to the standard" (p. 53), "so long as competition is kept alive" (p. 58). The remedy suggested is to "make the local cutting of prices, the breaking of a scale of prices for a predatory end and the factors' agreement illegal and punishable, and to *do what you can to secure the execution of the law*" (p. 77).

Prof. Clark is fully aware of the fact that while "these unfair acts could all be defined and forbidden," yet "not many laws are more difficult of enforcement than these would be" (p. 66). Some of the methods which might be successfully resorted to in order to evade the law are discussed at length by the author himself, and the reader need only be referred to the respective portions of the book.* Still he maintains that the difficulties are not insurmountable and the law could be enforced.

"The thing to be done is to discover what is a monopoly. . . . At present there rests upon the courts the duty of determining in what cases a monopoly actually exists; and the determination has its difficulties. . . . The test of the question whether the great corporation is or is not a true monopoly is applied by determining whether the way is or is not open for the competitor to appear. . . . Can the rival safely appear or can he not? is the test question in the case. . . . The typical act that identifies the unlawful power is the crushing of rivals by the means above described. . . . What is needed is to make each one of the practices by which competitors are terrorized legal evidence of the existence of a monopolistic power and to condemn, under the common law, any corporation that shall afford this evidence" (pp. 70-79).

"If it could be proved that a reduction in the price of some one type of goods was not justified by changes in the conditions of production, this would be an evidence that the cut was made for a predatory purpose. If the price of the particular grade of goods were first put down and then put up again, and if rivals were crushed in the interval, this would be evidence that the purpose of the cut was illegitimate. Sharp enough penalties for such conduct, enforced in a few cases, might make the policy too dangerous to be practiced. It is not to be admitted that statutes for the

* Pp. 13-15, 34, 35, 66-68, 70, 71.

suppression of wars of extermination, such as a trust can now wage against its rivals, are powerless. They are, to be sure, difficult of enforcement; but if the people were living always in a heroic mood and maintaining a fierce watchfulness over their officers, the thing desired would certainly be done, and it may be done in any case." (p. 69.)

It is one of the shortcomings of American university specialization that our economists are not lawyers and our lawyers are not economists. An illustration is afforded by the passage, quoted above, where the author, doubtful of the power of statutes to resist the skill of the technical lawyer, would rather rely upon the "common law" to condemn any monopolistic corporation, upon proof of practices which must yet be made "legal evidence" of monopoly. How are they to be made "legal evidence," if not by statute? The common law does not prohibit the merchant from selling below cost with the intent to drive out a competitor. So we are left after all to the protection of the statutes. Now let us assume that the people *are* "living in a heroic mood;" their officers, under a representative form of government, would naturally be chosen from among those living in the same heroic mood, which would materially facilitate the task of "maintaining a fierce watchfulness" over them. Amidst a people living in a heroic mood the reputable lawyer would not dream of "gauging his skill by his success in driving a coach and four through the statutes." In the humble opinion of the present writer, however—and he will doubtless be borne out by every member of the legal fraternity—the technical lawyer would have no occasion for the display of his skill, in order to secure immunity for the monopolist under the law suggested by Prof. Clark.

Let us suppose a case where a great combination has been indicted for having created a monopoly. One of the tests that the economist would have the court apply is, "Can the rival safely appear or can he not?" By what legal evidence could this be determined? Would the prosecution be allowed to call witnesses to testify that they would like very much to build competitive mills, but were afraid? Under what rules of evidence would such testimony be admissible? Or would experts be asked the "hypothetical question," whether, in their opinion, "the way is or is *not* open for the competitor to appear?" To answer it would require a degree of clairvoyance uncommon even among "handwriting experts." It is safe to predict that so long as the principle holds good in American jurisprudence, that the accused is entitled to the benefit of the doubt, there could be no conviction upon such testimony, assuming it had been admitted by a judge "living in a heroic mood."

It is impossible to obtain a conviction in a court of justice

upon mere proof that "the rival mill is terrorized in advance and precluded from appearing" (p. 72). Modern criminal law does not condemn for mere evil intent without some overt act. To convict a corporation of creating a monopoly, evidence would be required of the crushing of actual rivals, not of merely "potential competitors." The proof, as we know, would have to show "that the reduction in the price of some one type of goods was not justified by changes in the conditions of production."

It would require the appointment of a referee to examine the conditions of production of a number of different grades of goods manufactured by the same corporation; the inquiry would have to embrace all elements of cost, viz.: wages, salaries, interest, insurance, etc. Where a corporation largely utilizes by-products, "it would require skill in devising and applying a scientific rule" for apportioning the total cost of production among a score of products turned out by the same works. There is reason to believe that there would be wide difference of opinion as to what is the correct "scientific rule." Aside from purely technical questions, involving many problems in mining, engineering, chemistry, railroading, etc., there would, probably, be occasion for expert testimony upon the theory of value; the classical school, the historical school, the Austrians, would all have an opportunity to have their views passed upon by the learned referee.

Nor is that all. "If the price of the particular grade of goods were first put down and then put up again, and if rivals were crushed in the interval, that would be evidence that the cut was illegitimate." It is, certainly, not to be assumed that the mere testimony of an unsuccessful competitor would be accepted as conclusive evidence against a corporation on trial, since his retirement might prove to have been due to his own improvidence or lack of business ability. So, the case would further involve an extended examination of the causes of many failures in business, and all that on a national scale, requiring the appointment of commissioners to take testimony, perhaps, in a dozen of States.

It must be left to the imagination of a lawyer to conjecture how many sessions before the referee would be required and how many volumes of testimony he would have to consider, before he were ready to submit his report to the court. If it ordinarily takes a few years to carry a corporation case "through the mill," how long would a case of so complicated a nature drag along in the courts? However Draconic the penalties, the possibility of their infliction would be too remote to inspire terror to the "predatory" trusts.

The proceeding would practically throw upon the court the duty "to prescribe the prices at which goods ought to have been sold,"—*nunc pro tunc*. None of the difficulties encountered by

an attempt to prescribe prices by law would be obviated. Instead of "a commission containing many members, all wise and incorruptible," there would be the referee, who would have to be a man of encyclopedical learning, and above him would be the judges of the courts of general jurisdiction, learned in the law, to be sure, but laying no claims at omniscience.

Instead of confining itself to cost of materials, wear and tear of machinery, salaries, wages, etc., and the state of supply and demand—which would be the work of a commission appointed to adjust prices—the court would have before it the additional task of inquiring into business accounts of private corporations and long past sins of commission and omission of their managers and agents. The first case tried in court would convince public opinion of the utter inefficiency of such a statute.

From all of which it is evident that Prof. Clark's remedy "cannot exterminate monopoly or reduce it to harmless dimensions." If so, he said, he would begin even to listen to our seductions. Satisfied that centralization goes hand in hand with monopoly, he *will probably be a Socialist*; certainly he *ought to be one*. These are his own words.

Marxist.

The Unity of Life.



WASHINGTON, Ind., Nov. 19.—Two hundred and fifty men, employed in the coal mines here, struck to-day because they claimed the operators had failed to have the bank mules properly fed and curried.”—Chicago Inter Ocean.

What is the deep and hidden spring in human nature this incident discloses? What is the moving spirit, the struggling impulsion that sets the need of the brute creature above the immediate “interest” of the toiling human?

Among the many indications that humanity is rising above the sordid standard of gain of material possessions as the chief aim and purpose of existence, this act of these miners is of striking import, and a brilliant expression of the majesty of that quality in man for which we have no other term than “divine.” It is a disclosure of the innate sense of justice in man, and that it is co-operating with Infinite Intelligence, Universal Mind.

This omnipresent potency has in painful slowness wrought through the centuries to awaken in man the slumbering perceptions and potencies of his being that can alone accomplish his deliverance from the tyranny of the master, and oppressive environment, and lift him to the intelligence and freedom of a fully equipped manhood. The conception of a Deity, a Divine personality, that requires slavish submission to a master, is quite put in the shade by such an expression of unselfishness and love of justice as the miners exhibited in striking for the benefit of the dumb beast of burden.

Many years ago I heard Wendell Phillips say: “Altruism is only wise selfishness.” But only after centuries of different forms of slavery has human ignorance been sufficiently illuminated to discover this basic truth of human association, that the interest of each is the interest of all and the interest of all the interest of each.

The poet discerned that we are “bound in the bundle of the race.” The man who digs and delves in the “land of the noonday night” is quickened by the perception in his inmost self, (tho’ it may be unconsciously,) that *all life is one and* ALL SERVICE SACRED.

The master, whether of the chattel slave of the past or the wage slave of the present, is benumbed in his higher nature by willingness to accept the enforced service and necessity of a fellow being. In failing to recognize the solidarity of all life and all human beings, and in promoting an uneducated submissive toil-

ing class, the master employer and captain of industry is lowering his own status as a man.

The scholar and the gentleman of the old time and the new, who willingly, without compensation, lives off the profit of the toil of another, cannot compare in human grandeur with these miners, however unschooled or uncultured, who set aside their immediate interests in protest of injustice to the working beast.

The tap of Socialism is *justice*. This vital, germinal principle, inherent in human nature and cosmic law, involves also the energizing, cementing quality of love.

Therefore, Socialism making of one family all the people, will prepare and provide the conditions whereby the child, the infirm, all the class whose limitations exceed their capacity will be, not pauperized, but cared for as brothers and sisters.

Nature's provision in the planet is ample for all the needs of the physical man. Man's equal opportunity to achieve subsistence is the primary demand of social economics, as it is the primary element of justice. The mighty and beneficent work of Socialism is to restore to humanity the birthright of equal opportunity, which means equal access to nature's resources.

Man to be free, and to glorify manhood, must joy in his work, his capacity to create, to produce. The real noble man or noble woman is the man or woman who ennobles work by enjoying the accomplishment of the best possible product, and the social state which alone can secure peace, happiness and prosperity to each and all, can only be the state in which the producer can enjoy the products of his labor.

Capitalism is robbery. Wage working is slavery. The profit making of the capitalist system destroys the nobility of manhood, by making a beast of prey of the capitalist and his operating agents, and even destroys helpless child life.

Human language is inadequate to paint the hideous monster, profit making. That man in the form and semblance of human beings can deliberately enslave the helpless child, doom the tender, immature forms to long hours of wearisome tending of machines, working in breakers, or any protracted monotonous toil, is so monstrous a crime against childhood that it is difficult to comprehend the moral atrophy of such inhuman specimens of the genus homo.

Come to the rescue of helpless childhood ought to ring in trumpet tones in the mind of every citizen of this land. Come to the rescue of the child, or the liberty and progress of our people will soon be a thing of the past.

Can the child be delivered from the profit-making monster except through the justice and beneficent ordering of Socialism?

Lucinda B. Chandler.

A Question for the Agitator.



N earnest Socialist, who is devotedly attached to the Socialist Labor party and its problems, was once, in conversation with me, fiercely arraigning all Socialists outside the pale of his party for what appeared to him as the folly of their tactics. He had rehearsed the whole catalogue of the crimes of the "Kangaroos" and the "Debsites," and had expressed the usual opinion that there is but one Socialist party, and De Leon is its prophet, when I interrupted and gently remarked: "My dear Schmutz, the trouble with you is that you lack a sense of humor." The interruption, however, did not have the desired soothing effect. Instead of taking the remark as I meant it—that a sense of humor would enable him to recognize the absurdity of his party's claim to all virtue and wisdom—he thought I was pleading for a gentler warfare against social injustice, and he cried out: "There is no humor in the crimes of capitalism. It is no laughing matter to us poor devils who are shut out from the enjoyment of the good things of life to which we are entitled." Yes, capitalism is a tragedy, but it is beyond the ordinary human capacity to go on forever with one's teeth clenched in the frenzy of combat. There are some austere ones with the iron in their souls who can maintain a fierce front 365 days in the year, and play Peter the Hermit from daylight to darkness, but most of us can't stand the pace. Fierce fire consumes quickly, and sanity demands an occasional cessation in the work of feeding the flames of our indignation.

All that sounds like the introduction to an essay on "The Sweet Virtue of Being Good-Humored," or some such subject, but the thought in my mind was merely to remark that there are in the experiences of all Socialist agitators diverting incidents to relieve the grimness of the campaign against capitalism. For me a rest cure for the exhaustion following a long intellectual strain and tense ethical effort has been provided by dwelling on the delicious naivete of many of the questions put to me by those who have difficulty in imagining anything outside the range of their immediate experience. Real joy comes from thinking of the humor in the request—every agitator has heard it—to construct off-hand in complete detail the Co-operative Commonwealth which is to take the place of the present regime. "How will this, that and the other be done?" innocently asks the inquirer. If he is not given all the detailed information of art and science which only an Admirable Crichton could provide he goes off exulting in his heart over how, with a "practical" question, he has demolished the insubstantial fabric of a crazy dreamer's vision. I do not begrudge him his exultation, for he has made me laugh.

There is also humor, of a grim sort, in another question propounded to the agitator, but it is one that demands an answer. This is, "How are you going to get it?" That is, how are the Socialists to bring about "the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution" now owned by the capitalist class? The agitator working in virgin territory doesn't like to blurt out, "Why, we mean to just take it." That brings the cry, "confiscation," and "confiscation," to one unversed in the ethics of wealth, spells "stealing," and no Socialist agitator enjoys being considered either a present or prospective thief. Of course the confiscation shoe is on the capitalist foot. The capitalist class confiscates the surplus value created by labor, and the working class only means to reclaim its own, but it takes time for that logic to find lodgment in the brains of "the untutored savage," who never heard that the producer of wealth is entitled to his full product. The benighted one has never questioned the divine right of parasitism, and the agitator seeking converts doesn't care to alarm his quarry by turning on the full candle power of the searchlight of truth.

Hence it is that this question, "How are you going to get it?" has been one of the most troublesome to the agitators. "the boys in the trenches," have had to meet. It may be vaguely replied that we propose doing no man injustice; that we may take over certain properties "with or without compensation," but at best anything short of a complete exposition of our theory of property relations is an unsatisfactory response to the interrogation. I have been surprised, however, to find how completely the capitalists themselves and their apologists are answering this question for us. This answer is provided in the now familiar phrase, "the responsibility of wealth," which rolls so unctuously from the throats of the clerical almoners of the very rich. "The responsibility of wealth" means that the private possession thereof is a trust; that the holders are but stewards for Society; or, as the preposterous Baer puts it, for God. Carnegie has thrown the weight of his authority to the view that the only excuse for private ownership is that wealth shall be administered for the common good. Rockefeller, while he modestly ascribes his holdings not so much to his own sagacity as to God's favor, still admits that he is but a steward. Of course, we do not expect any moral philosophy from cheerful buccaneers like John W. Gates and others of his ilk, but the fact remains that in every quarter where there is any pretension to moral responsibility it is admitted that wealth is not an absolute possession, but a trust.

Prof. Charles Zueblin, of the University of Chicago, inforces this proposition in his lecture on "Ruskin and the Ethics of Wealth," which I heard on the occasion of its recent delivery be-

fore the Woman's Club of Louisville, Ky. In the course of this lecture Prof. Zueblin also takes occasion to indorse the soundness of the democratic principle. At the close of his lecture he called for questions and general discussion, and I submitted this: "If it is a fact that wealth is a social product and must be administered for the social good; and if the democratic principle is sound, are we not compelled to admit the logical soundness of the Socialist demand for a democratic administration of wealth." His answer was affirmative. Indeed, it could not well have been otherwise, and the incident is related only to buttress the contention that in no responsible quarter is it maintained that wealth (capital) is an absolute private possession. Once this is admitted, the whole fabric of private ownership in the wealth-producing machinery falls to the ground. Title deeds to property become mere charters granted by Society—charters whose validity depends upon the good behavior of the holders; charters revocable when the social need makes revocation necessary or desirable.

Society is the unit of civilization, and every institution, before establishing its right to exist, must demonstrate its social utility. Hence private ownership of capital must render an account of its stewardship to Society. Failing to show that with the materials at hand it has provided the largest possible measure of material comfort for its wards, it forfeits its right to administer any longer the wealth in its hands. Fifty years and more ago capitalism was indicted for inefficiency by the Communist Manifesto in these words:

" . . . It becomes evident that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in Society and to impose its conditions of existence upon Society as an overriding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state that it has to feed him instead of being fed by him."

Since this indictment was drawn the evidences of capitalist class inefficiency have multiplied appallingly. There may have been a time when want was unavoidable, but in this day of abounding wealth poverty is an anachronism and a crime. The fact that gaunt misery stalks in the midst of prodigious plenty is an indictment of the capitalists for criminal incapacity in the administration of wealth. They have been weighed in the balance and found wanting, and the toiling millions of the earth are demanding their own—the right to administer that which they have created. Every vestige of warrant for private ownership has disappeared. Civilization can exist without "captains of industry." Labor has attained its majority and no longer needs the watchful care of Trustee Carnegie, Steward Rockefeller or God's Chosen, Baer.

Charles Dobbs,

The Church and the Proletarian.

THE problem of the relation of the Church to the working classes is entirely modern, and the reasons why this is so will, it is to be hoped, appear in the course of this article. The word Church is here used of organized Christianity in any form, but particularly of the Protestant Churches, for, as far as the Roman Catholic Church retains a hold upon the working classes it is outside the pale of our consideration, and where it has lost its hold, it is upon the same footing as the other churches, and no better.

Now, it will be generally admitted that the Church has no control over the mass of workingmen, that they do not attend its services, that they ignore its claims, that they find their ethical sanctions outside of religion, and that the teachings of the clergy, except as far as education has caused the members of the working class to retain certain concepts, which, after all are more social than religious in their nature, are inoperative with regard to the great majority of the toiling population. The Church periodicals are full of admissions of these facts, Church congresses discuss them, organizations are attempted to bring into greater harmony the masses and the Christian efforts put forward by the churches, and the alienation of the body of hard workers from the affairs of the Church is the cause of much grief to the sensitive humanitarians among the clergy, who find in the breach between the masses and religion one of the most disheartening facts of modern life.

In order to examine our problem with any chance of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion, we must first understand the present, and, therefore, the historic significance of the terms working classes or proletariat and Church.

The working class as a objective reality is a new class and dates only from about a century and a half ago. It is as modern as the age of machinery. In the Middle Ages artisans followed for the most part some additional occupation, chiefly farming, or if they were specialized were members of guild organizations, and either possessed small capital or expected to do so. They were on terms of social equality with the master—except in few rare instances—married his daughter, and succeeded to the business. They were hence a part of the social structure and the religion which suited the social structure suited them. There was, therefore, no religious question; baron and retainer were part of the same religious system, the religious rite was also a social rite.

In the time mediate between the downfall of the feudal system and our own times, that is the time during which the domestic sys-

tem had developed, the conflict of classes had been fought out on the religious as well as on the political and economic fields, and in those countries where the new system had made headway, the Protestant revolt had fixed the destinies of the hand workers, who still for the most part followed some other occupation as well as their regular trade. The Catholic Church was associated in their minds with the interests of the class for whose overthrow they had fought, and they were thus by inclination Protestants, in England, Protestant Dissenters, and in America members of the so-called "free" Churches.

All this time there had been growing up an independent class, that of the day laborers, and the advent of the machine industry at almost one sweep converted the mass of workers into this class, brought into being the modern working class, and established what has been called the proletariat. Now it will be observed that this class has, according to history, no part in society. It is not and never has been a recognized social factor: it has no fixed station; it never belonged to the guilds. It never took any part except so far as it was compelled to do so in the fight between bourgeois and the feudal lord, and consequently having no part in the social life, has no class interest in the manifestation of religious life representative of social and political interests. So when this class became large enough to be an important factor in national affairs, the Church discovered that it had lost its hold upon it and thus had no control over a progressive and powerful element of society.

In losing its hold upon this class the Church has missed its final opportunity of being a permanent political and social force. The days of the statesmen-bishops are over, the political parson is a thing of the past. The declaration of the temporal power does not excite any enthusiasm in Catholic countries, and the cries of "Il Papa Reé" are only the meaningless utterances of perfervid pilgrims. On the other hand, the power of the parson is gone; his word is no longer of social import: the town-meeting can get along without him; he has lost his position as a social magnate. What power he retains is by virtue of his own personal dignity, of respect for his ethical teachings, of acceptance of his standards of life and conduct.

But the Church persists. In spite of the destruction of its dogmas by science and the loss of political prestige and social weight, it still appears to be sound and healthy. Still the new class, which is to be the victor on the field of economic and political warfare is outside of it, has nothing to do with it, and cannot be persuaded to take it seriously. Ecclesiastical effort, then, represents the efforts of a class other than the working class. What will happen when the working class has the control, when the wealth of the present possessing class is either cut off altogether

or tremendously curtailed? Will the Church thereupon succumb, will Christianity have passed the border which so many anterior creeds have crossed and gone down to their death?

In order to arrive at anything like an approximate view of Church prospects we have to understand the historical significance of ecclesiastical history up to the present. Here there need be no discussion as to the supernatural qualities of the Christian religion, the authenticity of its sacred books, the actual events in the life of its Founder. Here Christianity is simply regarded as a sociological fact.

The Church, it is commonly said, represents a moral force. That is true. The Church is an ethical teacher, but it is a teacher which has never given all its time to the teaching of ethics. It has nearly always been an enormous political and social power. At a very early period of Church history, only a little more than two hundred and fifty years after the death of its Founder, the Church vaulted into the saddle, not as an ethical teacher but as a political power. Constantine elevated it, or degraded it, as you please, into a state religion, the Council of Nice copper-riveted its doctrines; henceforward it was bound up with the destinies of empires that is with the destinies of the ruling classes of empires.

From this time on it was propagated by the civil and military resources of the State. The clergyman was thus practically an officer of state. But if possible still more important was the rôle which the Church played in education and the learned professions. Philosophy and jurisprudence were parts of the field to whose possession the Church claimed the exclusive right, and hence so tinged were these branches of human activity by ecclesiastical influence that the political revolt had to assume a theological guise: for the minds of the people were, as Engels somewhat harshly says, "stuffed with religion." Even during the course of the Protestant revolution, the diverse interests of sections of the revolutionary party assumed diverse theological clothing; thus there was a moderate party and one more extreme such as the Anabaptists representing a more radical political doctrine as well as a more radical interpretation of scriptures in accordance with that doctrine.

Calvin with his democratization of the Church and its republicanization set a fair pace for the triumph of the bourgeois in religious affairs, and by the infusion of this spirit into the Church of England in opposition to the absolutist theories of the Stuarts and the country gentry, succeeded in creating that institution which the Oxford movement enlivened with a new lease of life, but which is now flickering out in mere formalism.

Precisely, as far as the broad marks are considered, the same course of ecclesiastical development is to be noted on the conti-

ment of Europe, where Protestantism in its various forms represented the interests of the trading part of the community, and where the proletariat merely acquiesced in the ecclesiastical forms set up by the economic superiors.

Religion in France, however, entered upon a new phase. The defeat of the Protestants and the consequent revocation of the Edict of Nantes killed all the aspirations of the trading classes for a new religion. They became subjected to a new and that an anti-religious movement, for their interests were represented by the pre-revolutionary philosophers who were atheistic in their tendencies. Hence, the French Revolution marked the entire absence of religion in the consideration of political ideals. Still, the non-religion of the French bourgeois class was just as much a purely class affair as was the Protestantism of the other European countries, and French atheism was as little representative of working class sentiment as was English Protestantism.

But the French atheistic movement had a great, if indirect, influence upon the middle classes of other countries. Henceforward, the middle class was by no means thoroughly religious; in fact, a great and ever-increasing proportion of it became free-thinkers of various shades. The development of modern science has more and more fascinated the middle class intellect, and the last century has witnessed a constant alienation of culture and knowledge from all ecclesiastical effort.

In other words, the Church has lost its force as a political power, and it can no longer hope to wield an influence over the minds of men by virtue of its authority as an arm of the civil power.

The specialization of modern life has also tended to diminish the scope of its influence. Science, philosophy, law and other branches of human activity have become more and more independent of ecclesiastical interference, and the Church is driven closer and closer to the mere work of teaching ethics. The political and other offices thrust upon it since the time of Constantine, the assumption of political and social importance, are rapidly falling away from it, and the occupation of a preacher of righteousness in accordance with the teaching of the Founder appears to be the only duty left to the priest and the minister.

But the Protestant churches hold their own by virtue of certain other distinct functions. They are social clubs for the middle classes. The respectability of a member of society is gauged, more or less, by the standing of the Church to which he belongs; for there are churches fashionable and non-fashionable; churches which are attended solely by a certain class and churches again into which the persons attending the former class never set foot. They are meeting places for the young of both sexes who belong

to a certain station in life, guarantees of social standing and income, marriage bureaus of undoubted respectability, where life partners are chosen, and they provide a certain amount of occupation for the restless and bewildered women of the middle classes, who, having abrogated the essentially feminine functions, are pursued by the demons of social ambition and eternal ennui.

None of these functions appeal to the working classes. The young of that class have their own way of becoming mutually acquainted; they have no social position; they have no fixed income; their women have too much to do in the ordinary round of domestic duties to find time for the mild dissipations of modern Protestantism; and as no provision is made for their ethical training, they receive none except such as the conditions of their life have imposed upon them.

What, then, is the condition of the problem which we set out to consider? We have a church which is shorn of all distinction and power, which rests fundamentally upon its force as a teacher of ethics, and we find that church confronted by a population, not hostile to it, but which does simply not regard it, does not trouble itself about it, and to whom it is more or less of a jest.

In other words, the Church of to-day is confronted by the same problem which it had to face at its first institution. It must go forth simply as the apostle of the religion of Christ, shorn of all power and social dignity, and by virtue of the power of its message win for itself a place in the hearts and minds of the masses, literally convert them to its point of view and out of the masses of careless and semi-sarcastic proletarians build up the flock which the Master instructed his clergy to guard and feed, but which in their devotion to power and wealth and the pettiest of social influences they have betrayed and neglected.

There are certain other functions which remain to the Church and which will have to disappear before the latter really recognizes that the problem which it must face is simply ethical and religious. One of these has been practically solved already in this country, namely, the direction of education in whole or in part by the Church. In England at the present time the Church, Anglican and Roman, is fighting almost desperately to retain control of education. Should it win, the chances of England to retain her position in the commercial world may be considered as irretrievably lost.

The education question is vital to the Church, as may be seen from the efforts which the Catholics, even in this country, make to maintain some sort of supervision over the children of the working classes, even at the heaviest sacrifice. The Sunday school of the Protestant Churches is a very weak substitute for that ecclesiastical control of education. It serves a certain social purpose,

but not that contemplated by the minister. It cannot escape notice that while the numbers of scholars attending Sunday school are very imposing, the ratio of adults attending church is small in comparison. What, then, becomes of the Sunday school scholars? They evidently do not retain their connection with the Church when they have reached maturity? To such the school merely served as a means of enabling them to pass the tedious hours of Sunday, without encroaching upon the peace of the family. It carries but little lasting influence and as a vehicle of appeal to the working classes is an unmitigated failure.

The function of dispenser of charity is another which the Church has heretofore exercised to its own power and well-being. The distribution of charity, then, has always given the Church a great amount of indirect influence, even among those who do not profit by its largess. This charity has been used to a certain extent as a proselyting influence, and then again much of it has been purely altruistic, expended by the Church without any hope of direct return. But whether the object of such charitable work has been selfish or altruistic, there is little doubt that it has been for the most part exceedingly unwise. The pauperization which is always to be dreaded in matters of charity has followed directly in the wake of ecclesiastical charitable effort, and there is a general growing feeling on the part of social experts against the perpetuation of the Church method of alleviating the evils of poverty. Organized charities, managed on a purely secular basis, municipal schemes for the prevention or the alleviation of poverty, State societies for the scientific treatment of juvenile offenders, substitutes of a state nature for magdalene institutions, and similar efforts are ever more and more taking the place of ecclesiastical institutions.

It will be noted that all this does not reflect in any way upon the value of the Church as a social factor in the past; it is only evidence of the curtailment of its social value in the future. And this is precisely with what we have to deal—how is a Church, without any political power, any social power, any control over education, any management of charitable funds, going to exert an influence over that great and unwieldy body known as the proletariat?

Many of the clergy refuse even to consider the question. They make closer and closer friends with those in power, they attach themselves still more nearly to the side of wealth and privilege, and by associating the name of religion with the capitalistic function are simply storing up wrath against the day of wrath and are establishing in the mind of the worker the idea which is not yet there established, that religion and capitalism are but two sides of the same shield.

Such a result would be unfortunate for the Church. The minister warm with the compliments of enthusiastic followers, may not think that there is any such danger, but the thing is not only possible, but it has actually happened. In Berlin to-day five out of six people who are to be seen upon the streets going to some meeting or other, are going not to church but to hear addresses from the platforms of the Social Democrats upon the rights and duties of the working classes. When their children have acquired the habit of substituting the lecture hall for the church, the latter will no longer confront a careless proletariat with no religion, but a sturdy proletariat with a very definite, if materialistic, substitute for religion, with an organization, with speakers who are at least as able as the theological colleges can produce, and without any doubt as to their working class sympathies. How long would it be before ecclesiastical authority could ever hope to reassert itself among such masses?

Still, the Church pays no attention to these warnings, and Mr. Baer, the slave-driver of the mining district, is allowed to utter his blasphemous declaration that he holds the power of life and death over his men by divine warrant, without an emphatic protest from those who claim to interpret the purposes of the Almighty.

The problem, then, of the relation of the Church to the working classes resolves itself into the simpler one of the relations of the Church to the individual workingman. But this may be still further simplified, thus. Bernard Shaw reminds us in the "Quintessence of Ibsenism," that the Church is simply an ideal, an unreality, having no foundation in fact. All that really exists comprises the various congregations with their respective ministers. So that our problem is narrowed finally to the relations between the individual minister and the individual workingman.

Now, under what conditions does the minister enter upon his work? It will appear at first sight that his very training and what is left of his professional status are distinct obstacles to any unity of interest on the part of the clergyman and the laborer. For the purpose of propaganda among the working classes it is rather bad policy to open relations from a superior position, that is, a position socially superior, for the purely ecclesiastical powers claimed by some of the clergy are not subversive of their progress with the working people. On the other hand, however, an assumption of social superiority by those who are supposed to have consecrated their lives to the teaching of other than material truths has a very deadening effect. It has always been so. The clergy who have really been influential have actually lived the life of the flock to which they have ministered.

It must be remembered that the workingman is not a confirmed secularist, and has never been one. The secularist societies

were not kept afloat by the efforts of the working class; hence it happened that Bradlaugh and Ingersoll were never in any sense champions of the working class, and that their opinions merely represented one side of middle-class philosophy.

If it were only the weak, the broken and the degraded who were lost to the Church, the latter might console herself even while she grieved, but, on the contrary, the strong, the vigorous and the pick of the working classes now avoid her portals, without whom she cannot expect or even deserve to perpetuate herself.

Austin Lewis.

Ideals and Shortcomings of Society.



COLONEL WATTERSON'S caustic remarks concerning the "simpering Johnnies and the tough girls that make Sherry's and Delmonico's 'hum,'" who he says have adopted the title "Smart Set" to save themselves "from a more odious description," have created wide discussion in pulpit, press, and as a topic of general conversation, which will undoubtedly be productive of beneficial results. Mrs. Burton Harrison's reply to Watterson in the New York American and Journal of Sept. 21, is in itself a strong arraignment of the class she attempts to defend. She says, "Folly, extravagance, exuberance that passes good form and sometimes decency; faults in abundance may be theirs," and no argument is necessary to prove what is thus conceded. Again she says of the "dwellers in the great houses of New York and Newport: * * * "Some of them are dull respectable people." * * * I hope she does not mean to imply that all respectable people are dull, for if she does, it is an admission of a conviction on her part more serious than Col. Watterson's most scathing charge. Yet I find this blasphemy not merely implied but boldly asserted in a comment by Edgar Saltus, upon the same subject and upon the same page. He says a society composed of people of perfect character "would be duller than the Smart Set," which he describes as the *ne plus ultra* of dullness. This remark indicates that he, as well as the "Smart Set" which he criticizes, is lacking in the realm of the ideal. It shows, rather, a confusion of ideas—a superposing of his own ideal of perfection upon a saint borrowed from the conception of some persecuting Puritan of the seventeenth century. A saint is an ideal of perfection, and dullness is not an attribute of that ideal. To assert that a society composed of saints would be dullness inconceivable, is a dangerous falsehood. What Mr. Saltus evidently means is that a society composed of saints (according to some other man's definition) would be dull companions for a society of saints (according to his own view), or, dull to him, in comparison with society as he finds it. His statement, however, that a person without moral deformity, or a society composed of such, would be inconceivably dull, is too serious a reflection upon the human race and the Creator of the Universe, to pass unchallenged. Not that I intend to pose as the champion of the Author of all things. He needs no defender, nor is the human race, in general, in need of a protector against such calumny. But I criticise the use of such an ill-advised expression, to warn the individual reader that the ideal of character and conduct are contained in the commandment, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father

in heaven is perfect," and that anyone who says that a society living up to that ideal would be inconceivably dull, gives evidence thereby of his own lack of moral perception. And let me say that the ideal contained in the above commandment may be kept in mind and constantly striven for, by any one who desires to attain it, regardless of external circumstances—whether among the rich, or poor, or those who, in material things, are blessed with the fulfillment of the prayer of Agar, "Give me neither poverty nor riches." It is my conviction that among these latter, the normal conditions necessary for the highest development obtain to the greatest degree, and it is for this reason that I advocate the establishment of a just social or industrial order, in which excessive wealth and poverty shall not exist, and in which every man will live by the service which he renders. "He that is chief among you, let him be as he that doth serve."

The time has gone by when a man, who, either in ignorance or hypocrisy, prates about those who attempt by legal process to usurp the birthright of society, and "exercise authority" over men arbitrarily, as "Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given control of the property interests of the country," can gain an audience among intelligent people. Christianity asserts that such men were called "benefactors" among the Gentiles—"But ye (Christians) *shall not be so*." That is, a man cannot exercise arbitrary authority over his fellow men and be a Christian, no matter how vociferously Mr. Baer may call him one. He must recognize the laws of the Universe or his claim to that title is only a pretense or assumption. And I may add that a man who understands these laws would answer the question of Mr. Arthur M'Ewen, in the paper already quoted,—*"To be rich and to have nothing to do but spend your money—come now, wouldn't you like that yourself?"* with a NO big enough to blot out the entire insinuation which follows. To have money to spend without earning it, is demoralizing to the individual and to society. Integrity is an essential element in ideal character, and is absolutely incompatible with such enormous wealth in the hands of a few individuals as we are familiar with in this beginning of the twentieth century.

The question as to what one would do under the same circumstances, is idle speculation, and of infinitely less importance than the question, How shall just conditions be established? It is not my purpose to answer that question here, further than to say that it is comparatively easy to answer and requires strict honesty. My present purpose is to emphasize the fact that, "A man's life consists not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth," or that the highest ideal of human development can be attained without excessive wealth which involves social injustice, and on

the other hand, cannot be attained with it. While the exploited class needs to learn how with the ballot box "to close its pockets with the button of the law against the fingers of the 'better classes'"—who live, as from time immemorial they have lived, by appropriating what others earn," the "appropriating" class needs also to learn to blush with shame that their fingers have been thus engaged. And this must be attained, not through class hatred, but—love,—the realization on the part of both classes, of the meaning of the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." There is no occasion for any feeling in one class against the other, for both are victims of a system which has been inherited by society from the days of chattel slavery, giving us, as Mr. Abram S. Hewitt says, a "custom of wages" based upon cost of subsistence, and still diverting the product of labor from the possession of the laborer to that of a master, now styled an "employer."

The "employer" is no more responsible for the system than the "employee"—except, perhaps, from the fact that he has made a practice of lying, consciously or unconsciously, during a political campaign, and telling the "employee" that their "interests were identical," and from the further fact that a larger opportunity should have given him a deeper insight into economic law, and he should therefore have been first to discover the injustice of present conditions, and the remedy for them. But perhaps it is too much to expect that one whose income is increased by "faulty economic conditions" should detect these faulty conditions sooner than one whose income is diminished by them.

The fact remains, whatever the preceding circumstances, that "the evil in the trusts" exists, and in consequence we have the extravagance and insipidity at Newport on the one hand, and on the other hand the spectacle of starving miners striking for a subsistence wage. Both the underpaid miner and the overpaid "Newport pinhead who sits at table with a maudlinly-drunk chimpanzee" are an appalling reflection upon our civilization, and a single stroke of justice will abolish both, for be it known that the extravagance at Newport and elsewhere are the CAUSE of the dearth in the miner's cabin.

How long will the people of inordinate wealth continue to "put their trust in riches" as a means of securing happiness, (which is designated by the founder of Christianity as the "kingdom of heaven"—for really that is what every one is seeking), and though "having ears hear not" the words which come down to them through the centuries—the same which fell unheeded upon the ears of the rich young man of that former time—"ONE THING THOU LACKEST?" Not only are they deaf to those words, but they are also blind to the poverty and ill paid labor

which support their idle extravagance, not to speak of worse social crimes of which these unjust conditions are the cause.

But the fault lies not entirely with them but with society. The government, in the last analysis, was responsible for the tragedy witnessed upon Calvary, and the government to-day permits the injustice which manifests in the multimillionaire and the slum—the same cause produces both effects, and until the public conscience is aroused to realize the enormity of the crime, those who do recognize it must, if they have learned the lesson taught on Calvary, in the same spirit of love repeat the prayer which sprung from that experience—"Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." But we can also be witnesses to the truth that the "Swell Set" which Col. Watterson in common with the vast majority of people disapproves, and the slums and ill paid labor which support idle luxury and extravagance—not to add debauchery and crime, which may be mostly traced to the same source—can both be done away by the simple process of abolishing monopoly and substituting just laws for those which now confer special privileges upon the few whereby they live at the expense of the producers of wealth.

To have wealth without earning it, and to earn wealth without having it are both *evils*, and until President Roosevelt learns this fundamental truth, he will seek to find "the evil in the trusts" in vain. When he learns it, to "destroy the evil in the trusts" will be within easy reach, and through the working of just laws, those now "wasting their substance in riotous living" will learn, even as the Prodigal of old, that they have "sinned against heaven," and that this is not life but a waste of life. Thus through the abolition of legalized injustice, will the mission of Christ be fulfilled, that all "may have life more abundantly." It is not possible to create Christians by legislation, but it is possible to legislate so as to make Christian living possible. Under present conditions, a man is compelled to be either "one of the robbers or one of the robbed," or the two combined. Non-dividend-paying capital, of which our public buildings, schools, streets, highways, parks, etc., are an example, is the solution of the "labor problem," and the Census Report shows the average working man's income will be more than doubled by such solution. Moreover, the unearned incomes of those who "live by appropriating what others earn," will cease, and the Scripture will be fulfilled which says, "If any will not work, neither shall he eat." The abolition of slavery may work some temporary hardship to those who have been living by the labor of others, but it will prove a blessing to all—'tis a labor of love.

Horace Mann.

Washington, D. C., Oct. 7, 1902.

Socialism in Politics.



SOCIALISM, as a science, must be sharply distinguished from Socialism as active in politics. As a science, it contemplates a rounded theoretical system: as a political movement, it aims at definite results. Scientific Socialism is the fluid fountain of moral force: Socialism in politics is the distribution of this force in society. This distribution means the realization of the ideal in positive institutions.

We may take for granted here that Socialism has been perfected into a science. The first question that arises, then, is: By what method shall it be realized? And naturally we inquire next, if there be a law which controls the process of realization? Let us see.

Existing society is rooted in capitalism. Socialism is the opposite pole. What one attracts, the other repels. Hence, the inevitable and irrepressible conflict. Socialism aims to dislodge capitalism, which fights for its life behind many and strong entrenchments.

The one superlative obstacle, however, which confronts us, is the ignorance, and indifference of the victims. They suppose, so far as they suppose anything, that the present order is fixed and permanent. Hence, the necessity of a propaganda of education.

Socialism in politics seeks to move men to action. How shall it accomplish this? Evidently it should follow the line of least resistance. While holding its large ideal constantly in view, it should not insist upon it in its entirety, but emphasize the specific evils which are seen and felt. The average popular mind can take this in, understand it, appreciate it, act upon it; but philosophize, it cannot. It is true this is not removing the tree by its roots, but if we continue lopping off the branches, the tree will die and the root rot in the ground.

There are those who object to this method as compromising and superficial. In no sense is it compromising. It makes an immediate demand, but surrenders no right to make other and further demands. If by "superficial" it is meant that the complete ideal is not presented to the people and its acceptance as a whole urged upon them, then this is begging the question and not an argument.

Further, these objectors need to be reminded of a law first enounced by Aristotle, that, "What is first in nature is last to us." With the Stagyrte "principle" means the life-giving source of a thing, as well as the major premise in a syllogism. Now in nature, or in the order of existence, the principle is always first;

but to our cognition it is always last. We ascend from facts to laws; from the manifestation of cause, to cause itself. We do not first grasp the law and the cause and descend from generals to particulars.

And, as it is in thought, so it is in action, notably in the social and political movement. All history is in evidence that no progression ever received its impulse from the *motif* of principle. It was the miseries of the poor debtors that led to the reforms of Solon; it was not the inherent right of all men to the soil that was at the bottom of the agitation stirred by the Gracchi; it was not freedom of conscience but the sale of indulgences that precipitated the religious revolution of the sixteenth century; Bill of Right, Petition of Right, Habeas Corpus, abolition of the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission—all the advances the English people have made in civil liberty (and this is the condition of economic freedom) have been remedies for special existing evils. It was the attempt to suppress American commerce and manufacture that brought on the Revolution of 1776; the ground of "no taxation without representation," was an after-thought. It was not the rights of man but the impositions on the Third Estate that assembled the States-General. Finally, it is the specific demands of the Erfurt program leveled against specific abuses that has given to Socialism its great strength in the German empire.

The bee constructs its comb so as to get the most storage in the smallest space without knowing the laws of geometry. The same economy prevails throughout the whole animal kingdom. Man, too, is always building better than he knows. Thus it would appear that society is a process, a kind of dialectic as it were, of unconscious evolution, in which instinct and not reason plays the principal parts.

Does some ask: "Has this 'Katheder' Socialism any practical purport?" I answer that it is intended to have such purport, and that it has failed totally if it has not.

The People's Party was, in its inception, strictly a farmers' party. It began with the Grange, went over into the Farmers' Alliance, then into the Independent Greenback Party, where it enlarged still further. The Mid-rovers claim to carry the original banner and that they have never amalgamated with a foreign element. They have now constituted themselves into the Allied Party in order to admit of a greater freedom of action and a combination with other progressive parties for a common purpose. Of course, I do not presume to speak for this party. But I know that what was contemplated by some of the founders was the purpose just stated.

This party has been the great training school for Socialism in

the United States. Fusion produced a retrograde movement on the part of the fusionists; but the Mid-rovers went straight forward and the platform adopted at Louisville is substantially the Eufurt program adapted to conditions in the United States.

The most of Mid-rovers and Socialists will one day get together, but there will be no mechanical work about it. It is quite possible they would be together now, had they understood each other better. There are some among us (Mid-rovers) who are as thorough-going Socialists as ever accepted the Marxian economy or followed Bebel and Liebknecht. But they think that the organized Socialists in this country lack the breadth of view and fail in the large practical endeavor which characterize the Socialists in Europe and which has given them such power in France and Germany. "Half-baked" is the classic epithet which some who claim to speak for the organized party apply to Socialists who are the same time Mid-rovers. And yet, these "half-baked" would be "done-browns" in Europe. It is true that a number of Mid-rovers do not rise above aspirations for a middle-class Utopia. But such is not the platform, nor is such the view of the great majority. Our great effort has been, and still is, to bring the farm and the work-shop to a consciousness of their natural solidarity. Marx expressly excludes from the category of capitalists those who produce for themselves with their own tools of production. Such a man is the small independent farmer, whether he owns the land and the stock, or the stock only. Such, too, is the country blacksmith and other mechanics outside of the larger towns and cities, many of whom own little homes but depend upon their labor for a living. If Socialism is not to be confined to the manufacturing centers, this rural class must not be ignored and put between the upper and the nether millstone of capitalist and proletarian.

William Macon Coleman.

Dallas, Texas.

The Struggle with Tuberculosis in Denmark.



COMMISSION which was appointed on the motion of the Socialist members of the Danish parliament in the fall of 1901 to consider measures with which to combat tuberculosis has just finished its work. Its report, which occupies a quarto volume of 250 pages, will occupy the attention of the Reichstag at its next session. In its introduction the commission expresses its regret that there are no accurate statistics of tuberculosis. Physicians are not compelled to report the cases which may occur in their practice, and in the country death certificates are not required. The total number of deaths from tuberculosis in Denmark is estimated at 5,000, of which 4,000 are from tuberculosis of the lungs. This constitutes one-seventh of the total deaths; but when the deaths of persons between 15 and 45 are considered, one-third of all are traceable to this one disease. The total number of patients perceptibly suffering from tuberculosis of the lungs is estimated at 20,000.

The commission recommends numerous measures to restrict the further spread of the disease; among others an arrangement by which the teachers of the public schools shall be permitted to deliver an annual address in all establishments that will permit it, to those engaged therein on the essentials of hygiene, and by further expositions by physicians in the higher schools. Besides this, the commission has prepared an outline of a law against tuberculosis, partially framed on the model of the one already existing in Norway.

An effective oversight of the milk trade is demanded, to be accompanied by gratuitous distribution of milk to needy mothers with no implication of charity; tubercular women to be forbidden to act as servants. No tuberculous person to serve as a teacher, and all who are at present acting as teachers to be retired upon an adequate pension. A careful supervision of all asylums, kindergartens, homes for cripples, private hospitals for children, etc., should be introduced, as well as of all school buildings. The introduction of school baths and school physicians is also demanded.

The commission makes the following significant comment concerning these measures: "The question of effective action against tuberculosis in adults is a question that enters in the highest degree into the social life, and *is closely connected with the whole social question*. Many measures that the commission considers highly necessary and desirable must be left undone, lest the battle against the disease become a fight against the patient, by making their fight for existence even harder than at present."

The commission expects a favorable result from the strict enforcement of the factory legislation of 1901, and recommends to the government the supervision of the erection and utilization of all places where large numbers of persons are accustomed to assemble, together with the frequent cleaning of all waiting rooms, railroad carriages and passenger steamers. Under certain conditions, when tuberculosis patients constitute a danger to their associates and will not themselves observe the proper precautionary measures, they should be forcibly placed in a hospital and cared for at public expense. Further and effective dwelling inspection is demanded and the enactment of building regulations, and finally the installation of a tuberculosis inspector is recommended.

As measures for the cure and care of the sick, the commission recommended: The erection of hospitals upon the seacoast for children having diseased glands, and sanitariums similarly located for the mildest cases of glandular disease, of sanitariums for poor people having lung diseases: tuberculosis hospitals or hospital isolation for the more advanced cases, and finally homes for the incurable cases.

According to the view of the commission these measures are only possible through state assistance, either by the state undertaking their complete execution, or else by granting a large subsidy. The commission refuses to endorse the recommendation of the Socialist member, Herald Jensen, that the state assume complete and gratuitous charge of all tubercular patients, partly because of the extraordinary extent of the disease and partly because of its slow development, which would require that a great number of citizens should for years at a time be cared for at public cost. The commission concludes, however, that the state should assume three-fourths of the cost of the care of tubercular patients, the other fourth to be met from the treasuries of the sick-benefit societies where the patient is a member of these, and where this is not the case to be paid by private or public charity. The annual expense of the state necessary for this purpose is estimated at 1,072,000 kroner. In addition to this there must be an immediate expenditure of 625,000 kroner for the erection of the different institutions. In the first fiscal year 425,808 kroner are demanded for the support of existing institutions. On all the essential points the commission was unanimous. The Socialist member, to be sure, recognized in a higher degree than his associates the duty of the state in the matter, but for practical purposes concurred in the recommendations of the commission.

Translated from the Berlin Vorteaerts by A. M. Simons.

The Conference of the International Committee.



HE delegates of the International Committee met on the 29th of December at the Maison du Peuple in Brussels. Delegates were present from England, France, Holland, Austria, Argentina, Poland, Belgium, and Russia.

Secretary Serwy presented his report, of which the following is an abstract:

The activity of the International Secretary is not so extensive as seems desirable because the necessary money is lacking to pay a man who shall devote his time exclusively to this work, and because we have undertaken so great a task that some time is required to get our bearings.

The Secretary has sought in all possible ways to fulfill the demands. The International Committee should consider the question of the organization of a special Interparliamentary Commission in order to discuss common action in great political and economic questions. This Commission must be co-ordinate with the International Committee. The International Secretary must be enabled to gather International archives and create a central Bureau of books, documents and reports which bear upon the labor movements of the various nations.

The first duty of the Secretary was the organization of the Bureau. Twenty-one nations are now represented therein: England, Germany, Austria, Australia, Argentina, Belgium, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Denmark, United States, Spain, France, Holland, Italy, Hungary, Japan, Norway, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Servia and Switzerland.

In the course of 1901 several Manifestoes were published; the first upon the unrest in Russian Universities; the second upon the occurrences of the celebration of the 1st of May; the third in relation to the Armenians, and the fourth concerning the concentration camps in South Africa.

Further, the Secretary has given rise to Parliamentary interpellation on various questions. The resolutions of the National Congress were collected and published. From time to time International bulletins were published in *Le Peuple*. The Secretary was often consulted concerning matters of labor, social legislation and the Socialist movement. The archives have been enriched by a number of Socialist publications, protocols, and brochures, as well as by the publications of the Belgian, French and American Labor bureaus. Statistical material concerning the political and economic labor movements of Europe and the United States have been gathered and a book prepared on the development of Social-

ism at the end of the 19th century. If means are forthcoming a book will be published in 1903 on the Socialist and labor movement of Europe, America and Asia. It will contain a general report of the progress of Socialism since the Paris Congress of 1889 and the political, economic and co-operative power of Socialism, and the development of the press and influence of propaganda.

The Secretary has endeavored to answer the many and various questions that have been addressed to him from comrades concerning organization, housing of labor, alcoholism, voting, immigration, conditions of labor, strikes, legislation, etc.

An attempt which has been made to create an International Socialist Library has had little results. Efforts are now being made to secure the co-operation of authors, and it is hoped to obtain better results.

At the request of the Russian representative of the Bureau, the Secretary protested against the enslavement of Finland by Russia. At the time of the festival of the 1st of May conquest and robbery politics in the Orient, in Africa, in Cuba and the Philippines were denounced. Another question which came before the Conference was on motion of Comrade Hyndman for more active participation by the Bureau in International politics.

On motion of Comrade Singer it was agreed to postpone the next International Congress until the year 1904.

The Bureau finally adopted the resolution: that the International Bureau considers it necessary that the questions of International politics be given more exact and thorough study by the Socialist parties of all countries and by the Bureau itself. The Socialist parties of all countries were requested to bring reports to the next Congress concerning the International situation and especially of conditions which in any way may compromise peace and of measures which may aid in the abolition of national antagonisms.

Comrade Hyndman sought to have the Bureau meet quarterly, but it was finally decided to meet only twice in each year. The next meeting will be held in August, 1903.

International Socialist Congress of Amsterdam.



THE International Bureau at Brussels has received the following notices which are intended to be brought forward at the Socialist Congress to be held at Amsterdam.

1. From the FEDERATIVE UNION OF THE CENTRE (France).
 1. General Strike.
 2. Suppression of Standing Armies.
 3. Extension of the International Secretariat.
 4. In all countries a nine hours day to be worked for.
2. From the SOCIALIST PARTY OF FRANCE (Union Socialiste Revolutionnaire).
 5. International rules of Socialist politics.
3. From the SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.
 6. Proposals for National and International legislation on Emigration and Immigration.

The object of these proposals is to enable our comrades in Argentina to fight against the introduction of large numbers of emigrants in that country, which reduces wages there.

4. From the NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIALIST WOMEN IN AUSTRIA.
 7. Proposals for the obtaining of the right of women to vote.

They state that though resolutions on the subject were adopted in 1891 at Brussels, and in 1900 at Paris, yet no active propaganda is carried on to enable this to be obtained, and they ask that an agitation should be started for that object.

5. The FABIAN SOCIETY (England) sends the following resolutions:—

8. Compulsory Arbitration.

The attention of the Congress is called to the hardships entailed by strikes and lockouts among workers, and they are urged to adopt similar methods to those prevailing in New Zealand and New South Wales, where compulsory arbitration already exists.

9. A Minimum Legal Wage.

The Congress is recommended to urge the adoption of a minimum wage as already exists in Victoria (Victoria Wage Boards Law) or in England by means of agreement between workers and employers.

10. Trade Unionism and Politics.

The attention of the Congress is called to the happy results ensuing from co-operation between trade unionists and Socialists, but as reactionary candidates are sometimes chosen from trade

unionists, Socialist organizations are urged to always maintain their organization.

11. Municipilization of the Drink Traffic.

The attention of Congress is called to the evils of the drink traffic, and it is urged that this should be undertaken by public authorities, so that the profit may accrue to the State or the municipality.

The INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY wishes the question of MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM to be considered.

12. Socialists and Municipal Activity.

The attention of Congress is called to the importance of this matter, and urges Socialists, while not neglecting the national and international aspects of Socialism, to take part in local work in order—

1. To make all local work public property.
2. To carry on this work, not for profit, but for the public good.
3. To watch over public health.
4. To help the sick, children, men out of work, and old people.
5. To provide better homes for the people.
6. To improve the condition of the municipal workers.

The CZECH SOCIALISTS OF AUSTRIA ask that

13. The International Proletariat should consider the question of Nationalities.

They urge that this question if discussed would tend to prevent war.

The DUTCH SOCIALIST PARTY proposes the consideration of

14. Old age pensions for men and women unable to work.

The PARTI OUVRIER FRANÇAIS (Federation Girondine) states

15. That Foreign Correspondents of Socialist newspapers should either be members of Socialist bodies or in sympathy with them.

The International Bureau requests that Socialist organizations should debate these questions and submit to us, as soon as possible, their report. We also ask them to send us before the first of May a report on the movement in their country since the International Socialist Congress of 1890, at Paris.

Victor Seravy, Secretary.

Edward Bernstein and Industrial Concentration.



OMRADE Edward Bernstein has honored me with a reply to the few casual remarks in criticism of his theories, contained in my article, "How Much Have the Trusts Accomplished?" (I. S. R. for October, 1902). Before I meet Mr. Bernstein's objections let me briefly state the question at issue, so that no misrepresentations or misunderstandings be possible, or even be suspected. I fear that my arguments will be somewhat technical and tiresome, and would gladly abstain from replying altogether, were not some important principles involved.

My article concludes with the following sentences: "Mr. S. N. D. North says: * * * 'You are quite right that in almost all of the great lines of industry the tendency is to a decrease in the number of separate establishments, accompanying a large increase in the amount of capital invested, number of employes and value of products.'

"Yet those are all assertions, the truth of which a Bernstein will contest."

Mr. Bernstein takes exception to this last statement: "I can heartily endorse what Mr. North says without in the slightest degree contradicting my own statement," he replies. That he does so now, is a source of gratification to me. Mr. Bernstein claims more, however: that there is no contradiction at all between Mr. North's statements, which I quoted and endorsed, and his theories as expressed in the "Voraussetzungen des Socialismus." To prove this, he quotes the following sentence from his book:

"If the incessant progress of technical methods and centralization in a growing number of branches of industry is a truth, the significance of which even blockheaded reactionists scarcely hide from themselves to-day, it is a truth not less established that in quite a number of trades small and medium establishments prove to be perfectly able to live at the side of great establishments. Also in industry there is no pattern of evolution of equal validity for all trades" (pp. 57-58).

So the matter stands.

Let us proceed systematically and examine Mr. Bernstein's quotation a little more carefully. Can it serve as sufficient evidence that he agrees with Mr. North's statements? We will eliminate the misunderstanding that may arise from the promiscuous use of the words of "industry" and "trade," by explaining that "trade" here evidently stands for "branch of industry." This is evidently so in the last sentence, though in the first "trade" and "industry" seems to be used as opposites, which we don't exactly

understand. However, I disregard that. The question is: Does Mr. Bernstein or does he not admit concentration of industry? What is the answer?

Why, the answer is very simple, indeed. If by "centralization" is meant "concentration," Mr. Bernstein admits it in the first half of the sentence, while he denies it in the second half. Or, rather, while he admits the general statement he denies the specific elements, that make up that statement. And let me add right here, that this is one of the many examples of loose statistical writing which made me express my doubts of the scientific value of those statistics—express it, perhaps a little too strongly, I admit.

For what is concentration? It is not a static fact, it is a dynamic, or evolutionary tendency. It can not be studied from what exists at a certain moment, but from a comparison of a condition of things at different times. Again what are the specific phenomena that constitute industrial concentration? Mr. North defines them, and Mr. Bernstein agrees. What are they?

First: Decrease in the number of separate establishments.

Second: Increase in the amount of capital invested.

Third: Increase in the number of employees.

Fourth: Increase in the value of products.

Had we noticed these tendencies in only one or two lines of industry, we would then speak of concentration in these particular lines. But as they can be noticed in *almost all* American industries (as Mr. North says, and as can be very easily proved by a statistical study), and as in an evolutionary study we emphasize the general rule and not the exceptions,—we have the right to speak of a rapid concentration of industry as a whole.

Now, then, what does Mr. Bernstein admit and what does he deny? "In quite a number of trades small and medium establishments prove to be perfectly able to live at the side of great establishments!" Able to live! When? Just to-day, this year? Then it is undoubtedly true and does not contradict concentration, for all small and medium establishments are not dead yet, evidently they are able to live. But, should it mean that they are not diminishing, not dying out, how does it agree with the statement that "the number of separate establishments is decreasing? If the number is decreasing some must be dying off! And it must be the smaller ones, as "capital, number of workmen, value of products, are all increasing notwithstanding the decrease in the number of establishments.

Yes, Mr. Bernstein will answer, all these things happen in some, and do not happen in other branches of industry. And that's why I say, 'There is no pattern of evolution of equal validity for all trades.'

But there is no escape. Mr. North's statement does not read

"In some * * *" but "In almost all * * *" Isn't there a difference?

Mind you, I am not discussing the merits of the case at all, but simply trying to define as clearly and as accurately as I can Comrade Bernstein's view from his own statement. I really think I have omitted "a few words from my article." It ought have concluded, "A Bernstein will contest, *if he chooses to be consistent and careful in his statements,*" and by "a Bernstein" I meant of course any one of his followers, not feeling justified in coining an English equivalent for the German Bernsteinianer.

I have proven, I think, that Mr. Bernstein's defense was not a very strong one. The question remains open, however, what does he think about concentration of industry? What grounds did I have to think, that he will deny it. For that we must subject the third section of the third chapter of the Voraussetzungen to a more critical examination.

On page 59 he says (we quote in German for fear of misrepresenting while translating): "So stellt sich im Ganzen, das Bild heute so dar, als ob nicht der Grossbetrieb beständig kleine und Mittelbetriebe aufsaugte, sondern als ob er lediglich *neben* ihnen aufkaeme. Nur die Zwergbetriebe gehen absolut und relativ zurueck. Was aber die Klein und Mittelbetriebe abbetrifft, so nehmen auch sie zu." And he proceeds to give statistics in support of this statement. As we are not now discussing the subject of concentration but only Mr. Bernstein's relation to the question, we will not criticize the statistics. Note this, however. He speaks here of the whole picture: "das Bild im Ganzen," without looking for exceptions, and asserts that the number of establishments, small, medium and large, is increasing. Yet he insists that he has never uttered words which would justify my conclusion that he would deny a decrease of establishments.

On page 61 he speaks of commercial enterprises: "Nicht die Grossen machen den Kleinen die morderische Konkurrenz, diese letzteren besorgen das Geschaefit gegenseitig nach Möglichkeit. * * * Der Kleine Mittelbetrieb zeigt die starkste Zunahme." Here, too, there is the evident desire to prove *that there is no concentration*. Our opponent may be right. But why is he so anxious to deny that he had asserted those things?

We could multiply these examples, but I think I have said enough to prove the following statements. *In Mr. Bernstein's well-known book denials of the general process of industrial concentration are certainly to be found. They take the form, however, of a denial of the specific elements of this general process, and the general admission of the process in loose terms which precedes these denials does not correct the matter, but spoils the logic, for these denials play an important part in the entire eco-*

nomic system that bears the name of Bernstein. It was my privilege therefore to bring these arguments to a "reductio ad absurdum," in which I believe to have succeeded. For I have shown, that these "Marxists" deny a conclusion which follows from Marxist premises, while even capitalist writers have been forced to acknowledge this conclusion. A "reductio ad absurdum" is in my opinion a very powerful argument, provided your opponent is willing to follow the logical reasoning with you. If, however, he refuses to do so, that cannot be helped.

I purposely took all possible care to avoid any discussion of the question itself: first, because that was not the issue, and, second, because a statistical study of the evolution of American industry had better been undertaken by itself and not in a polemic article. Yet, if my opponent should desire to continue the discussion I can undertake to prove that at least in the United States, the one country of whose economic evolution I may claim a first-hand knowledge, his views and conclusions are incorrect; not only in regard to concentration of industry, but in many other matters as well. That the process is identical in Germany, England, etc., I may believe, but am unable to prove at present. That much I may say: that many of the statistical tables in "Die Voraussetzungen, etc.," if carefully and critically examined, lead to diametrically different conclusions from those the author made.

"Your American experience is no law unto us," Mr. Bernstein may very properly answer. Neither are German statistics conclusive to the American Socialist, however. My remarks were directed not against Comrade Bernstein personally, but against the American "Bernsteinianer," who persist in denying the correctness of a Marxist interpretation of modern economic life in America,—because of their teacher's German and English statistics. It is from their side that I looked for a reply, but unfortunately it is not forthcoming.

Dr. I. M. Rubinow.

EDITORIAL

Violence and the Socialist Movement.

The economic organization of labor has now reached a point never before dreamed of in its history. A literal wave of trade-union sentiment has swept across the country. This was preceded and to some extent caused by an even greater wave of industrial concentration.

The upward sweep of prosperity has probably well-nigh reached its height. Such men as Yerkes, Hill and the editors of the great commercial publications, whose interests would all lie in claiming the perpetuity of present conditions, admit that an industrial crisis cannot be far away.

During the time of the upward sweep of capitalism the price of living has soared far above the slowly crawling rate of wages. Hence there have been an extraordinary number of strikes and other evidences of the class struggle during the last few months. But when the inevitable reaction shall come and the capitalists can no longer afford to throw to labor even the few crumbs which now break the force of its onslaught the struggle will at once grow far more fierce and bitter.

It is only necessary to call to mind how the panic of 1873 was followed by the massacre of striking laborers by the militia in the streets of Pittsburg and the Pennsylvania mines in 1877, how the "depression" of 1884 culminated in the great eight-hour movement and went out in blood in the streets of Chicago in 1886, and how the terrible panic of 1893 was followed by the bloody industrial conflict at Pullman in 1894, to show the close connection between the first pressure of financial panic and the coming of fierce industrial battles.

In view of these facts it does not require prophetic insight to foresee the probability of great industrial and social disorder within the near future. Unless causes cease to produce effects, the next few years will see industrial conflicts that will dwarf the A. R. U. and the coal strike as completely as those eclipsed the conflicts of former years.

But it is generally recognized that during even these less important conflicts there were times when the social fabric was stretched perilously close to the bursting point. To-day there is much more inflammable material on hand than at any previous time in our history. The crushed mass of little capitalists are growing desperate, and, true to the traditions of their class, are preparing for a violent policy. It is very probable that they will also remain true to their traditions

on another point and keep their own precious skins safe while inciting others to fight for them.

The organs of this class—the so-called “radical” papers—are constantly lining at violence. This is done not so much by open propaganda of violence as by publishing inflammatory comparisons and contrasts between social classes, tending to inspire to class-hatred, but not to intelligent class consciousness or conception of the historical functions of class struggles, and never pointing out the logical methods, weapons and outcome of such struggles.

There are many reasons for believing that the present social rulers, the large capitalist class, would not look with disfavor upon an appeal to violence at this time. They cannot be wholly blind to the fact that events in Europe for the last generation, and more recently in this country, indicate the near approach of the time when the whole system of capitalism will be brought to trial, with a good prospect of its abolition. Even if they have not comprehended the full significance of the growing Socialist movement (and we must continuously guard against ascribing too much far-sightedness to them in this respect) it is certain that they are beginning to realize that the economic organization of labor cannot proceed much further without seriously interfering with the workings of international competitive capitalism.

Since, then, it seems certain that the relative strength of capitalism will never be greater than now, it follows that if the forces in opposition to the present exploiting class are ever to be conquered it must be soon. That any victory that might be so gained would be at all final, no Socialist, of course, for a moment imagines. It would take more than one violent upheaval and massacre of the workers, and in more than one country, to stay the course of social evolution that is making for Socialism. But such social disorder might well have important effects upon the immediate direction and rate of social progress.

The social tinder now on hand needs only some violent clash of classes to strike the spark to ignite it, and with the ruling classes ready to fan the flames, we have all the elements essential to a social conflagration.

The only great body which has nothing to gain and everything to lose from such a period of social violence is the proletariat. All the great basic forces of social evolution are working for the political domination and economic emancipation of the working class. These forces work with greater certainty and more effectively and intelligently under the impulse of peaceful economical development than in times of social disorder. But this really offers but another reason why those who are interested in the maintenance of capitalism should invite violence.

The recent move to take the control of the State militia out of the hands of the States and vest that control completely in the central government is one of the signs that the ruling class is preparing for violence in the near future. The great sensation raised by the hostility of the unions to the militia shows how tender a spot this point is with the present ruling class.

The question at once arises as to what action the prospect of social disorder demands of the Socialist movement. There is but one answer

to this question, and that is neither new or startling. It is ORGANIZE. Organization of the intelligent class conscious portion of the working class into a coherent body, with a clear recognition of the significance of social forces and a definite purpose as to the utilization of those forces is the surest way, first, to prevent any violent action, and, second, such an organization is the only security that the proletariat will be able to maintain its interests as a class, as well as the higher interests of the social whole, the maintenance of which constitutes its historical mission, during a time of social disorder.

If there were but seventy-five or an hundred thousand members of the working class organized in the effective, fighting, working, thinking organization of the Socialist Party, such an organization could do much to prevent any foolish and violent response to provocative action by the ruling class. They would be able to direct the tremendous but blind forces that arise during economic and physical conflicts into what is to-day without doubt the most effective channel for social progress—that of political action for the purpose of capturing the governmental machinery, now the citadel of class rule and oppression, in order to use that machinery for the abolition of all economic and political tyranny.

During the immediate future, at least, the watchword of the Socialist Party everywhere should be, organize, organize, ORGANIZE. Socialist papers should aim above all else to draw their readers within the party organization. Local, State and national machinery should be used to the utmost to see that new territory is invaded and that that already covered is more efficiently organized. Only by so doing can class-consciousness be given, a means of effective, intelligent expression, and the Socialist Party fulfill its purpose as the guiding force of the proletariat in its march towards its own emancipation, and the realization of its historic mission as the bringer in of a higher social stage for humanity.

The International Congress.

It may smack of disrespect to those whose names are reckoned among the "great" in Socialism to condemn the work of the International Socialist Bureau and the program which is presented for discussion at the International Congress. But to put the matter frankly, the questions which are offered for consideration seem on the whole to be almost childish and utterly unfitted to occupy the attention of a body of supposed experts on Socialist thought and tactics gathered from all over the world. Practically every question submitted is one of tactics, which has only a limited application. Some are actually silly. Think, for example, of spending several thousands of dollars, and as we value time to-day that is what even a few hours of discussion in such a body means, over the character of correspondents to Socialist papers. Such questions as standing armies, general strike, woman suffrage, restriction of emigration and several others are peculiar to certain countries, and of doubtful importance or slight relation to Socialism anywhere.

Every one of these questions are affected to a high degree by local

peculiarities, are of much more importance in some localities than in others, and of no interest at all in many places. Some of them are mere bourgeois reforms, that have already been secured in many countries.

Most important of all, not a single one of them can in the slightest degree be settled by any international action. It might be well to gather information upon these various questions through international correspondence for publication, although even that would be of doubtful value, but to ask men to come together across thousands of miles of land and water to discuss them is foolish.

In this connection it is perhaps fortunate that the next International Congress has been postponed one year, as this will give time for discussion of this program and the adoption of a better one. But on this point we cannot help but remark at the free and easy way in which the fact that the United States will be engaged in a great national campaign at the time fixed for the Congress was disregarded by the European comrades. Arrangements should be made, however, to send several delegates and to have the time of meeting either in November, after election or else in June before the campaign is in full swing, preferably the former, so that those delegates who wished might remain some time without being absent during the time they are needed here.

In this connection there is another phase of international affairs that is worthy of notice. It is recognized that the German Social Democracy are on the eve of what is probably the most important electoral contest for the Socialist movement that has ever been held. Some of the German comrades in New York have already shown their appreciation of this fact and expressed their sense of international solidarity by sending a hundred dollar contribution to the campaign fund of the German Social Democrats. It would seem as if it might be well to extend this principle somewhat further and to issue a general call through the American party press for funds for this purpose, or even to use the national party machinery to the same end. As time passes elections will come to be of greater and greater importance, and there will come times when it will be desirable to concentrate, for the moment, the entire international strength of the movement on some particular national contest. It would be well to get the machinery of co-operation in readiness against that day. The proletariat is a perennial source of funds on a small scale, but is incapable of raising any great sum on short notice. Hence it is that such appeals would not mean the augmenting of the resources of one country at the expense of the exhaustion of others, but, on the contrary, would be more apt to increase the contributing strength of the whole Socialist movement.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

E. Untermann.

Germany.

The tariff law has been passed by an open violation of the constitution. But the capitalists have not yet landed their spoils in safety. It has not yet been decided when the law will take force, and the next Reichstag's elections are rising on the political horizon like a threatening cloud. If the Socialists return to that body in considerably increased numbers they can continue the fight with redoubled vigor and possibly force the old parties to modify or repeal the noxious law. But if it is carried into effect, then the Nemesis will reach the capitalists in the form of economic blows. It remains to be seen whether the new tariff will make itself felt immediately after its enactment, and if it will be possible to celebrate treaties of commerce that will weaken its effects. The most important commercial treaties will be renewed on December 31, 1903. If no new treaties are made, then Germany would be forced to enter into a tariff war with the leading countries of the world. The great mass of the people will feel the pressure in either case. If no new treaties are made with other countries, the price of the necessities will rise. And, if the new tariff is carried into effect, the condition of the masses will be still more deteriorated. The result will be a further increase of the Socialist sentiment.

The illegal proceedings of the capitalist majority in the Reichstag have caused a great stir, even in honest conservative circles. Professor Laband, a prominent conservative jurist, declares in the "Deutsche Juristen Zeitung" that "such proceedings violate the dignity of the Reichstag," and that "the lex Groeber has been justly denounced as a brutal misuse of the powers of the majority." He shows that the Socialists have actually been the law-abiding force, while the elements of "law and order" have precipitated a revolution from above in the interest of reaction.

The Krupp affair has also put another feather into the hat of "Vorwaerts." The public prosecution has been suddenly abandoned, and later events seem to show that this was done because the secret police did not succeed in bringing employees of the "Vorwaerts" to divulge the secrets of the case. At least the secret police has paid one of the messengers of the Socialist organ sixty mark as a first installment for carrying secret news to them. And in consequence "Vorwaerts" now carries at the head of its columns the following notice:

"We have at our office SIXTY MARK, which were paid to one of our messengers on January 13, in the Schiller restaurant, as an inducement

ment to break faith with us and reveal business secrets to the political police. The owner of this money can secure the same on re-accepting for it and proving his identity."

All this is, of course, a well-deserved defeat for the emperor. To make his resentment still stronger, the workmen of the Stettin "Vulcan," the great shipyard, sent him a telegram protesting against the resolution of sympathy with Krupp, which they declare was forced upon them by a threat of discharge.

A still greater blow was directed at the emperor by the Socialist representatives in the Reichstag, who sharply criticised him for his insolent meddling in affairs of a public nature, and who forced Count von Ballestrem, the speaker of the Reichstag, to resign, after he had tried to shut off the discussion of this subject.

Of course, the ruler is furious, and is stumping the country in an effort to draw votes away from the Socialist party. It is an easy thing to make hot campaign speeches against the Socialists when they are muzzled by lese majesty laws and cannot hit back. It seems that the divine ruler has not the courage to meet the Socialists in open debate, and prefers to fight, like a cowardly sneak, surrounded by his henchmen, and striking men who are gagged and bound by unjust laws. What a hero!

However, the Socialists say they are well satisfied with the results of the imperial activity. The cities all over the country are stirred by public meetings passing resolutions of protest against the tariff law. And every new election brings news of new Socialist victories. In Breslau the emperor's anti-Socialist speech was posted in all the factories on the eve of election, and the result was a greater Socialist majority than ever. In Liegnitz the same effect of the imperial propaganda was hailed with delight by the Socialists. In fact, the emperor is doing so well that the next Reichstag will doubtless show a goodly increase in the number of men who will castigate the imperial tongue with the frankness and fearlessness for which the German Socialists have become known and dreaded.

New Zealand.

Comrade Tom Mann has a contribution in a recent issue of the "Pilot," a reform paper published at Auckland, from which we reproduce the following passage:

"The bitter weather of the past few weeks in the South Island, and part of the North, has made the 'out of works' feel their position very acutely. Auckland seems to have a large share of unemployed, but it's not the only district that has them. In Wellington there are men who have had no work for months, who would be glad of work at ordinary rates of pay, but who cannot get it. The unemployed problem has not been solved in this or any other colony or country as yet. The government co-operative scheme is better than nothing, but it in no way meets the real requirements; and the untruthful boasts of the Premier in London as to the non-existence of poverty in New Zealand ought not to be allowed to pass quietly by whilst hundreds of men are tramping

through the colony, literally begging, absolutely cadging, for an existence. The Government Labor department cannot, or will not, give them work; they cannot get assistance from the Charitable Aid Boards, and in this glorious land of plenty there is not even a 'Casual Ward,' nor anything of so humane a character, to which the helpless-out-of-work can go. Some of the officials in connection with the Central District Labor department offices are as kindly disposed as men can be, but others seem to take pleasure in snubbing a man who turns up to get information as to the probability of a situation being known of. If the applicant is a single man he is frequently spoken of in terms that implies he is a criminal loafer, or otherwise he would not be there. Labor department, don't be quite so cocksure in your statements that there are so very few out of work; you may get a rude awakening, and some of you amply deserve it."

The following editorial remarks also throw a flood of light on the actual conditions in that workingmen's "Paradise" and tell quite another story than certain much advertised fiction:

"Is New Zealand a workingman's paradise? Not much. Not so long as sweating exists, not until the wage system is thrown overboard altogether. Not while there are bosses and employes. Not while there are workers who have not had the opportunity to receive the first rudiments of education. Not while the wage-earners truckle and crawl and toady to the lawyer, the parson, the land thief, and the money thief; not while a sentiment of jingoism can be fanned to life; not until there are equal rights and equal opportunities for all men and women; not until all have their capacities thoroughly developed by education; not until the Co-operative Commonwealth of New Zealand is established, will our country be a workingman's paradise.

"The Britain of the South' is quite an apt name for New Zealand, especially in the shooting season, when only the haw-haw Johnnie, who can afford the license, is allowed to shoot imported game, which fattens on the toil of the well-taxed farmer. Smacks very much of the tyranny of privilege in the old country."

France.

In one of his latest banquet speeches Millerand has made a clean breast of everything which Socialist tactics should include, according to him. In the first place, the Socialist party should disregard the class lines drawn by Marxian Socialism and adopt a "broader" plan of action. We then ought to assist the capitalists in maintaining "law and order," in voting funds to the capitalist government for military and colonial expenses, and co-operate with the capitalists to "increase the productivity and wealth of the country." Most of all, he regards it as "a weakness akin to treason" to give up the idea of accepting a cabinet position from the capitalist government. He hopes that the next national convention of the Jauresists will declare in favor of "complete reform tactics."

This is not surprising. Once on the inclined plane of compromise and fusion, he could not help sliding gracefully and smoothly into what

the "Communist Manifesto" calls bourgeois Socialism, and what is properly called bourgeois reform. If his party follows him to the logical consequences of his philosophy, as it probably will, they will have accomplished the same thing which the American populist leaders did in 1896—that is, betrayed their constituents and given up their right to existence as a distinct political party.

The French capitalists will yet hail Millerand as the saviour who broke the splendid spirit of the French Socialist movement and transformed it into a tame and docile lackey of the radical bourgeoisie. And the working class will gradually awake from the slumber into which the Millerand-Jaures program has cradled them, and, with a deep sigh over the many lost years that can never be regained, proceed to reorganize on more uncompromising lines. But the opportunists will have succeeded in doing what they so frequently profess to aim at, viz., "gained time." In other words, they will have assisted in keeping the working class in wage slavery so much longer, and in teaching them the bitter object lesson that workingmen cannot trust themselves to leaders whose whole instincts and environment are bourgeois to the core.

Jaures has been elected fourth vice president of the *Chambre des Deputes*. How well the bourgeois press appreciate the value of his services may be inferred from the following statement of the Paris correspondent of the *London Times*: "The victory of Mr. Jaures is more than a personal success—indeed, it is doubtful whether, judged solely in this light, the eloquent Socialist leader's opportunities for individual action and initiative are not thereby diminished, and whether his elevation to a rank in which he holds officially a position of lieutenant of Mr. Bourgeois may not determine an evolution in his political career, tempering it to an opportunism which will make him as little dangerous to vested interests as was Mr. Millerand when in office."

Switzerland.

The workingmen who refused to obey the summons to do militia duty in the recent strike in Geneva have been sentenced to imprisonment. Numerous contributions are made toward a fund to reimburse them for the losses they are thus suffering. The reactionaries have been very busy of late, and the freedom of the Swiss republic is setting the working classes to thinking as never before. The *lex Bertoni*, which makes it a criminal offense to publicly criticise foreign rulers, and the *lex Peuple*, which muzzles the press in its criticism of occurrences in the army, are stirring up a great deal of comment. Incidentally, the following remark of a Swiss writer throws a new light on the value of the referendum for the capitalist politicians: "If we wish to protest against these laws, we must spend energy and money in collecting 30,000 signatures, and we are still engaged in collecting signatures against the new tariff law. The referendum is a splendid means of exhausting the funds of the minority parties."

And a correspondent of the "Vorwaerts" writes: "The reaction has

celebrated its orgies in class justice, in brutally refusing the petitions to release the men who had been sentenced in consequence of the Geneva strike, in the *lex Peuple*, in the *lex Bertoni*, and in the creation of a new tariff on imports. But the workingmen will pass a verdict against these capitalist brutalities at the next election."

Italy.

The Italian Chamber has adopted the bill of the government for the municipalization of public utilities, with 156 against 81 votes. The bill is framed in such a manner that the capitalists are not in the least hurt, for it amounts to nothing less than an annuity for them without the trouble of supervising their wage slaves and bothering with business troubles. The Socialists declared that the bill in this form was worthless for the working class, and voted against it. Municipalization by the wolves—in the interest of the lambs, of course. Italy thus enters on a course of municipal and state capitalism, and our opportunists will now get an opportunity to study their ideal of a "gradual growth of society into Socialism" under the paternal wings of the capitalist government.

In Catania a popular referendum on the question of installing a municipal bakery declared in favor of the measure, with 5,053 against 145 votes. The Socialists led a parade of twenty thousand people after the vote became known.

The public prosecutor has instituted a process against the Socialist organ of Naples, "*La Propaganda*," which had furnished the information about Krupp to the Berlin "*Vorwaerts*." The charge is "Violation of public morals." The "*Vorwaerts*" says in a dry comment: "It has taken the Italian authorities quite a good while to discover that public morality is not violated by immorality, but by the exposure of immorality."

A recent letter of the Pope to the bishops of Italy says, among other things, that the priests should offer an energetic resistance to the pernicious tendencies of the new century. They should descend to the people with the true spirit of the Church and save them from impostors, especially from the Socialists. Of course, the Pope has no right to make any binding rules for priests on economic and political matters, and neither a self-respecting priest, nor a lay Catholic who believes in using his own brain, will take any notice of this arbitrary ruling. But it will be very gratifying to the great number of Catholic Socialists in this country to learn that, according to the official announcement of the infallible Pope, the true spirit of the Church is opposed to the abolition of wage slavery and of economic oppression.

Holland.

In the after elections to the Parliament, Comrade Troelstra was elected in Amsterdam by a vote of 3,397 against 2,505. Over one thousand votes more were cast in this after election than in the main election, and our comrade received more than 900 of the new votes. This

election is a great surprise and disappointment to the capitalists, for as late as June, 1901, Comrade Henri Polak was defeated in the same district. This is so much more remarkable, as two out of every three workingmen are disfranchised in Amsterdam. Comrade Polak was elected to the Municipal Council of Amsterdam by 2,610 votes, against 1,052 liberal and 716 clerical votes. His district is one of the proletarian sections of the city, and his election, as well as that of Comrade Troelstra, is an encouraging sign of progress among the working class of that city.

Sweden.

In recent municipal elections the Socialists scored victories, in spite of the outrageous suffrage laws. Both Socialist candidates were elected in Mahoe, against the combined capitalist parties. Comrade Nielss Persson received 53,424 votes, Comrade A. Nilsson, the editor of "Arbetet," 39,171. Other Socialist candidates received from 18,000 to 20,000 votes, but were defeated. In Gefle, Comrade O. Danielsson was re-elected by a vote of 30,171. In Halmstad the Socialist candidate received 1,340 votes, in Sundsval 6,939, in Eskilstuna 10,182. In Soeder-tele the Socialist candidate was defeated by a small majority. But this defeat would have been a great victory under an equitable suffrage. There are 20,000 municipal electors in that town. But in consequence of tax debts and business failures, their number was reduced to 18,382 this year. Now, 200 wealthy citizens cast 9,619 votes, while the 16,382 others could only cast 8,783 votes. It looks as if voting was a waste of time under such conditions, and the overwhelming majority would have a more expeditious way of teaching those capitalist hogs' manners.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

Mr. J. P. Morgan's attempt to secure complete possession of the United States of America is gradually meeting with success. Having absorbed several more large independent mills and added them to his iron and steel octopus, he is now playing a great game to obtain control of the Republic Iron and Steel Co., a combine composed of a number of mills, and the big Jones & Laughlin Co., one of the Carnegie plant's foremost competitors. In fact, Morgan is playing two cards that seem hard to beat. One of Morgan's moves is through control of railways and the co-operation of friendly magnates. The independent concerns are in a measure bottled up, which is generally admitted, now that the Pennsylvania Co. blocked the scheme of the Wabash to gain an entrance into Pittsburg, which would have assisted the opponents of the United States Steel Corporation. The second move is the almost complete monopolization of the coke market. The Frick combine has announced that all the coke it produces will go to supply the Morgan mills, and as the Republic and Jones & Laughlin people have depended on Frick for their fuel, they have been hit a hard blow. It is rumored that the Jones & Laughlin interests are ready to sell out to the trust, and the prediction is also made that the Republic cannot hold out another year. Probably about the time Congress enacts a "stringent" anti-trust law Morgan will celebrate the event by taking over his remaining competitors and thus clinch his grip on the iron and steel production of the United States. "Competition is the life of trade," but Morgan don't believe it.

To finance new trusts and purchase independent mills, mines and railroads it is necessary to have some millions of ready capital always on hand. Much of the money needed is, of course, secured by pumping wind and water into the combines and selling it to would-be trust magnates, who anticipate dividends that are sweated from the hide of labor. But Morgan is not disposed to be satisfied with the old way of stock-jobbing and milking the public. He has learned that some of his iron and steel workers have made little savings over and above their living expenses. He wants those savings, and so an elaborate plan has been sprung on the employes by and through which they are to part with the few dollars they may have laid aside for the traditional rainy day and receive watered stock therefor and become great plutocrats. Besides getting rid of great volumes of water, Mr. Morgan hopes to strengthen United States Steel Corporation stock and send it nearer to par, and thus gain more of the outside public's confidence—

and its dollars. Secondly, the famous captain of industry expects to attach his labor to his machinery in much the same manner that the serfs were chained down to the land by the feudal barons. He reasons that when his "business partners," the toilers, own a few hundred dollars' worth of stock certificates with pretty gilt borders they will not only not want to go on strike against the corporation, but they will consent to be driven all the harder and produce more wealth than ever for "us." Then, again, the agitation against the present methods and ownership of trusts is growing. Nothing will be easier to disarm caustic criticism than to point with pride to the thousands of workers who are the "real thing" trust magnates and plutocrats. And who would have the heart to attack a great philanthropic corporation that was generously providing work for the workingman and wealth for all society, and providing a mite for the widow and orphan after the husband and father has killed himself in the mill? It is a great scheme, indeed, and the only thing the matter with it is that it don't seem to operate just right. The iron and steel workers apparently won't bite at the bait. News comes from the different iron centers that one union after another condemns the plan as one calculated to further rob and enslave them. It is true that the same band of blacklegs who scabbed in Chicago, Milwaukee and one or two other places are again displaying their "loyalty" to their masters to the extent of purchasing stock and announcing that they will organize a union (?) of their own but the movement will not become general. The trust magnates, however, have a big trump card to play, and are already playing it, namely, they can shut down mills, especially during slack spells, where their workers are "disloyal" and refuse to hand over their savings to Morgan. They are enabled to do this because they control the tools of production by virtue of the votes of iron and steel and other workers, but it is quite likely that these same workers will learn the lesson of political solidarity and the truths of collective ownership and send men from their own ranks into the legislative halls, not to bust the trusts, but to take control of and run them.

Speaking of legislation, the capitalistic politicians at Washington are rubbing it in on labor this session, if they ever did. After lobbying, log rolling and pleading for a few crumbs since Congress met, capitalism has playfully tossed a few rocks. To show their contempt for organized labor, the politicians have taken its bills and instead of killing them outright twisted and amended them in such manner that they are more dangerous than if they were no laws. The Chinese exclusion law is now a pro-Chinese law, as has already been pointed out in the Review. The latest ruling made under this act is the decision of the Treasury Department, which declares in so many words that an American ship owner can hire all the coolies he desires in China, bring them to this country and transfer them to his other ships, and if the Philippine commission's recommendation goes through, contract Chinese labor will dominate the Pacific in a very short space of time. The anti-injunction bill is still sleeping in a Senate pigeon-hole, and union officials are praying that it will never wake up. But it may be forced through at almost any time, because it pleases cap-

italism. As introduced, it meant to outlaw the injunction as applied to labor in times of strikes; as amended, it legalizes the injunction sandbag. Another demand of the unions for a number of years was that a Department of Labor should be created. Some "workingmen's friends" in Washington, including labor leaders, so-called, thought that such a procedure would be "class legislation," and it was decided that the new Cabinet position should be a Department of Labor and Commerce. There was more fiddling, until finally the bill is reported without official recognition of labor—just a plain provision for a Department of Commerce. Not only is labor snubbed, but it is intended to take the present Bureau of Labor and jam it into an obscure corner of the new department and make it more capitalistic than ever, if such a thing is possible. But the worst treatment is that accorded the eight-hour bill, which has been constantly before Congress for over a generation. All through the present session the fight for and against the bill has been most bitter in the House and Senate committees. Ex-Secretary Hilary A. Herbert, Judge McCammon, the United States Steel Corporation, the Manufacturers' Association and other capitalistic interests struck blow after blow. The corporations denounced the bill especially as being "Socialistic," and after the New Orleans convention of the A. F. of L. they charged the unionists with being Socialists, enemies of the government, American industry, and what not. Instead of meeting the attack and giving the trust tools to understand that the defeat of the eight-hour bill would mean more Socialists, the labor lobbyists apologized and practically crawled on their bellies. President Gompers is reported to have said at a session of the Senate committee: "We ask for legislation that is not revolutionary, but that shall be evolutionary in character, and that will constantly stand as a buttress against the risk of radical Socialism, which our friend, Ex-Secretary Herbert, has in mind. That is the constant stand which the advocates of this bill take." Mr. Gompers also assured the gentlemen that he opposes Socialism as emphatically as they do. The upshot was the report of the bill that is absolutely worthless. Eva McDonald Valesh, one of the editors of the *American Federationist*, writes as follows: "The eight-hour bill has been reported to the Senate from the Committee on Education and Labor with the heart cut out of it. Perhaps the case should be put more strongly. The bill is distinctly mischievous in character. As mentioned in a previous letter, it 'permits' a workman to spend as many hours as required on other work after working eight hours on government contract work. The eight-hour day is not to apply to work on transportation by sea or land. It may be declared off altogether in case of emergency, and the contractor is the judge of the 'emergency.' The fines for violation of the law are trifling and may be remitted by a government official. These are only samples of the things that the bill now contains. The government contractors are using all sorts of pressure to get it to a vote in the Senate, and believe it would go through the House, as the present House has no pre-election pledges to make, the next Congress having already been elected. Of course there is a pretense that the contractors are not desirous of the bill in its present shape. Why not? The amendments are all theirs. So far as organized labor is concerned, it is much better off

without an eight-hour law than to have such a travesty as this." The monstrosity may be forced through before this number of the Review is printed. But whether it is or not, the fact remains that the capitalistic politicians have nothing but contempt for organized labor, while our conservative "leaders," who seem to have a holy horror that the plutes are liable to become offended if the workers advocate Socialism, receive insults and kicks for their cowardice. Still, these results are educational. They prove that labor has nothing to expect from the trust-owned old parties, and that if the workers want concessions they must get into and help the Socialist party win its battle at the ballot box.

The investigation of conditions in the anthracite field has become a long-drawn-out affair. The stories of suffering told by the miners' witnesses caused a storm of indignation all over the country. Even the organs of the coal barons were speechless, but their opportunity came later on, when the imported scabs were placed on the witness stand and testified that there were assaults during the strike. The organs, including those that had professed friendship for the miners, immediately started a howl that the union approved of riots and refused to discipline and expel hot-headed members. This general denunciation also served the purpose of minimizing the condemnation of coal operators and dealers who pushed prices skyward while the thermometer was rushing toward zero. The scarcity of coal and the great suffering of the people was a deliberate attempt to "teach the public a lesson." In the Ohio convention of miners it was shown that the workers were kept idle two and three days a week, and in the anthracite field several thousand were on the blacklist. Baer and his organs claim railroads are unable to furnish cars, and at the same time hundreds of cars loaded with coal were kept standing on sidings near every city in the North. And while all this agitation was on dockages continued, and the Pennsylvania Co., for example, robbed the miners of \$4,000 worth of coal at one mine alone in December. The bituminous miners, finding that their bosses had advanced prices and aided in causing the famine, made a demand for a raise of 12½ per cent in wages, and it is not unlikely that another contest is brewing.

The union people of this country are speculating as to what effect the final decision in the celebrated Taff Vale railway case in England will have on the American situation. Because a strike was ordered and the union pickets interfered with scabs who sought to take their places the organization was mulcted out of \$40,000 damages. In this country a number of damage suits against unions are pending for boycotting and interfering with scabs, and if the British precedent is copied here, which is usually the case, another danger more serious than the injunction confronts us. The leading capitalist papers hailed the outcome of the Taff Vale trouble with satisfaction, and that is quite ominous. A little time will probably show where we stand,

BOOK REVIEWS

The Spirit of the Ghetto. By Hutchins Hapgood. Illustrated by Jacob Epstein. Funk & Wagnalls Co. Cloth, 312 pp. \$1.35.

Here we have again the story of the conflict between the "Old and the New," which ever forms the dominant note in books on modern Jewish life. It is the story of the disintegrating influence of capitalism upon religious rites, personal habits and social customs. The "colony of Russian and Galician Jews on the East Side" in New York now "form the largest Jewish city in the world." Here is to be found the poor and orthodox rabbi, who may be a great Talmudic scholar, deeply learned in Hebrew grammar and literature, but who is only a "green-horn" to the boy who has put on the smart ways of the outside world. This contrast leads to continuous tragedy, augmented by a bitter poverty, which is reflected in life, literature and on the stage. In the midst of this conflict the new spirit of Socialism is rising. The author of this book recognizes the all-pervading influence of Socialism. He finds it in the poetry, the drama, the woman movement and the press of the Ghetto. He has much to say of persons whose names are familiar to all Socialists—of Katz, Miller, Winchewesky and others. But, while he sees something of the tremendous influence of the Socialist movement on the life of the people of whom he is writing, he has caught no conception of Socialism itself, and it therefore appears to him as merely a peculiar transient phase of this one locality, and he says: "It is easy to see that the Ghetto boy's growing Americanism will be easily triumphant at once over the old traditions and the new Socialism." Indeed, the impress of superficiality is apparent on almost every page of the book. It is the work of a "clever" journalist who saw "good material" in the Ghetto, and who therefore put in some time in the restaurants, cafes and theaters, and in visiting and interviewing certain "characters." Then he selected a catchy title and obtained a talented young Jewish artist (himself a good "character"), who made some strikingly good pictures. This made some acceptable magazine articles, and it only remained to gather these into a book, and the deed was done. There is no denying the fact that the result is extremely readable and entertaining, but as a sociological study it can hardly take high rank.

The Conquest. By Eva Emery Dye. A. C. McClurg & Co. Cloth 444 pp. \$1.50.

The great American epic is to be found in the story of the conquest of the continent by the army of pioneers. Many have tried to write

this epic—some in the form of sober history, missing the poetry, romance and adventure, some in "historical novels" with more of fiction than of the facts that are greater than any fiction. This book is an effort to combine the two. Places, persons, events and dates are true to history and have been established with infinite research and study, but the style is that of the novelist. The story centers around George Rogers Clark and his brother William. It will some day be recognized that these two men played a more important part in the history of the United States than many whose names are much more familiar, for they conquered from the savage and from European aggression far greater possessions than did the men who served under Washington.

George Rogers Clark held back an army of savages larger than any composed of drilled troops that ever came to the Atlantic seaboard, and the battleground over which he fought was half a continent of untracked forest, with its strategic points in the hands of divisions of the same drilled armies that confronted Washington. The sufferings of the little army that took Vincennes may even throw in the shade the famous privations of the army at Valley Forge. For five days in February the band moving upon Vincennes waded or swam in the icy waters that covered the drowned lands of the Wabash, with only a few handfuls of parched corn as rations. A few years later came the expedition of Merriwether Lewis and William Clark up the Missouri and down the Columbia, three years of hardship, conflict and exploration beside which the achievements of a Stanley or a Livingston pale into insignificance. But the latter were opening up new fields immediately available as sources of profit, the former only blazing trails for an exploited proletariat fleeing from capitalism. Since capitalism has controlled our historians first honors have been given to those who were directly and highly valuable to capitalism. Miss Dye sees little or nothing of these facts in her writing, but she does quite faithfully describe the facts of social organization which have accompanied our frontier development, and she tells what she has to tell in a very interesting way.

Swords and Plowshares. By Ernest Crosby. Funk & Wagnalls. Cloth 126 pp. \$1.00.

There is no doubt but what in striking at militarism one is striking at one of the fundamental props of capitalism. The tenderness of the ruling class on this point is shown by the hue and cry which has been raised by the action of the trade unions in antagonizing the militia and prohibiting its members from joining the volunteer army. In a country, depending upon volunteer service it is only necessary to arouse a general public opinion to the effect that war is dishonorable to abolish the army. Certainly no one has done more in this direction than Ernest Crosby, and this little book of poems is mainly devoted to the same subject. The most of them are written in the meterless and rhymeless style of verse originated by Whitman, but the author has shown that he can handle conventional forms almost equally as well. There is always a keen humor in all that Mr. Crosby does, and we find it here in his satires of Rudyard Kipling, and also running through all the poems. The last half of the book is given up to poems on general

social subjects, one of the best being the little series on "Joy in Work." We shall hope at some future time to quote somewhat from this book for our readers, as it is one whose reading will delight all lovers of poetry or their fellow man.

The Floating City. By Edward F. Hly. F. V. (London & Co. Cloth. 116 pp. 60 cents.

This is really but an expansion of a lecture which Mr. Hly has given repeatedly throughout the country during the past few years. It deals with the modern movement toward the city, and gives some valuable statistics of the growth of cities in the United States, and shows that the urban growth is not peculiar to America. He traces the origin of the urban movement to industrial causes, but does not make anything of an exhaustive analysis. The remainder of the work is largely a plea for some of the more commonly recommended municipal reforms. There is little or no recognition of the labor movement as a factor in municipal politics, and his "floating city" would be but a ribbon tied to the waist-cord. It will give some attractions to the sentimental bourgeois reformer, but will fail to interest the actual essential social forces that are to be found in the working class alone.

Economic Foughts. By Gustav Kautsky. Party Publishing Co. (Cloth. 226 pp. \$1.00.

These are a series of essays, originally from articles published by the author in the *Neues Volkstages*, when he was on the editorial staff of that paper, and also in a manner entertaining way with a large number of subjects, mostly of an economic nature. They are all written from points which ordinarily be considered as the "main" points of view, generally friendly toward Socialism, but somewhat half-hearted. The writer sympathizes to a whole hearted the very tendency toward the Single Taxers, and it is from that point of view that most of the problems are treated. He is not, however, blind to the defects of that theory, and he concludes that "Socialism is something more than." There is a large amount of valuable information contained in the essays, in addition to their theoretical portion.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Subscription Post-Cards.

We are now ready to supply subscription post-cards, each good for a NEW yearly subscription to the International Socialist Review, on conditions which will be explained.

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The International Socialist Review does not aim directly to reach the millions of laborers who know nothing of Socialism and as little of the realities of capitalism. That indispensable work belongs to the weekly Socialist press and to our pamphlet literature, like the Pocket Library of Socialism. The work of the Review is, however, no less essential. It is to educate the educators.

First among these educators stand the workingmen who have come to a realizing sense of the truth of Socialism and who wish to make converts. They may have had no leisure for so-called higher education but their firm grasp of the fundamental fact of the class struggle enables them to follow the discussions which the Review gives from month to month of the practical problems of the Socialist movement in the light of the Socialist philosophy, and from this reading they get a broader understanding of Socialism, which makes them more efficient workers, speakers and writers. The service thus rendered by the In-

ternational Socialist Review is absolutely unique. No local or propaganda sheet can undertake it without impairing its efficiency for its proper work, and if the Review were read only by these active Socialist workers its value to the movement would still be incalculable.

There is, however, a large and growing class to whom the Review is the best propaganda literature that can be offered. This class is the brain workers, the wage laborers who sell their heads instead of their hands, and who now in America, as already in Europe, are being forced by unpleasant facts beyond their control to realize that they are in the same slavery as the manual laborers, and that freedom can be won only through united effort. These men are trained thinkers, accustomed to dealing with general principles, and they are more attracted by the sober arguments of writers in the International Socialist Review than by appeals to their emotions or to their only nascent sense of class solidarity.

These are the ones whom we hope especially to reach by this new subscription post-card offer—the doctors, lawyers, editors, teachers and other well-educated but frequently ill-paid laborers. To these should be added the farmers who ten years ago were studying the question of national finance, in faulty text-books, true, but with an industry that shows they are not afraid of hard reading, and would readily understand articles that call for close attention, while on the other hand they would at first sight be repelled by just the style of argument that would soonest attract a trade unionist.

A dollar will send the Review one year to four such people. The best way to get the dollar is to induce one of the four to pay the full subscription price. This is a line of propaganda that should bring handsome returns.

Wanted—Addresses.

We propose to issue within a few months in booklet form a revised and correct list of the Socialist Party Locals in the United States, and we solicit the co-operation of State and local secretaries everywhere to make the list as complete as possible. There are many thousand unattached Socialists who would be glad to become active in the party, but are ignorant how to join it. Moreover, there are many new locals, especially in States without a strong central organization, which are not getting the help they should get from outside, simply because the other comrades are ignorant of their existence. Anyone sending information of use in the preparation of this booklet will receive a number of copies for circulation when published.

A New Socialist Novel.

Comrade R. A. Dague, an active and energetic member of the Socialist Party Local at Alameda, Cal., has written and published a novel entitled "Henry Ashton," which will undoubtedly do good service in bringing Socialism to the attention of many who have as yet acquired no taste for more serious reading than fiction. The plot of his story is

one that will readily hold the reader's attention, and in his earlier pages he works in a number of interesting discussions between a Socialist and a non-Socialist, ending, naturally, with the conversion of the latter. His closing chapters picture the beginnings of a Socialist commonwealth on the island of Zanland, and the author's ideas in connection are suggestive, even though all Socialists might not indorse his details. The book is well bound in cloth, and the price is 75 cents; to our stockholders, 45 cents, postpaid.

Co-operation in Publishing Socialist Literature.

A booklet bearing this title has just been issued, and will be mailed to anyone requesting it. It describes in detail the plan of organization of the co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company. The number of stockholders as the booklet went to press was 570, located as follows:

Alabama	1	Maine	4	Pennsylvania	30
Alaska	2	Maryland	1	Rhode Island....	2
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California	49	Minnesota	22	Texas	5
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Connecticut	9	Missouri	16	Virginia	2
Dist. Columbia...	6	Montana	12	Washington	17
Florida	8	Nebraska	8	West Virginia....	2
Georgia	3	New Hampshire..	6	Wisconsin	6
Idaho	7	New Jersey	5	Wyoming	3
Illinois	61	New Mexico	1	British Columbia.	6
Indiana	16	New York	46	Manitoba	1
Indian Territory.	1	North Carolina...	1	New Brunswick..	1
Iowa	23	North Dakota....	7	Ontario	7
Kansas	22	Ohio	22	Cuba	1
Kentucky	8	Oklahoma	10	Scotland	1
Louisiana	1	Oregon	11	Unknown	2
				Total	570

Even this large number does not show the real number of Socialists who have a voice in the control of the company, since no less than 79 shares are owned not by individuals, but by Locals of the Socialist Party. Moreover, the number of stockholders is increasing now faster than ever before. The number of shares authorized under the present charter is 1,000, and it will probably be necessary by midsummer to have the charter amended so as to admit of receiving 1,500 more shareholders.

In an ordinary company, organized for profit, it is likely to be a bad thing for small shareholders to increase the capitalization, since the dividend on each share might thus be diminished. Our company, however, is not organized to pay dividends, but to circulate Socialist literature. The benefit to each shareholder, apart from the knowledge

that he is helping the cause of Socialism, lies in the fact that he gets Socialist literature for a fraction of what it would otherwise cost him. Now the variety of this literature that can be offered depends on the amount of capital at the disposal of the company, so that each new share of stock subscribed is a direct benefit to every former stockholder, while on the other hand the new stockholder at once gets the benefit of all the capital previously subscribed.

This co-operative publishing house, like the Socialist movement to which it is attached, has now passed the hardest stage of slow beginnings and has entered upon a period of rapid growth. Its capital is still far from equal to its needs, but it is increasing at a rate that is more than encouraging. The demand for genuine Socialist literature was never so active as now. All that seems necessary is to let the people know where it is, and they are ready to send for it and pay for it. We are gradually increasing our advertising out of the ordinary receipts of the business, but if extraordinary expenditures could be made for this purpose there is little doubt but that the number of clear-headed Socialists in the United States could be doubled in a brief space of time. How we propose to raise the needed money and how to expend it will be found explained in the booklet. Send for it, read it, and act accordingly. Acknowledgments of the advertising fund will be made in later issues of the Review.

Kautsky's "The Social Revolution."

This important work, only lately published in Germany, and just published in our translation by A. M. and May Wood Simons, is already selling rapidly and winning general recognition as the most important Socialist work that has appeared for many a day. It is simple and clear in style, and will make an excellent propaganda work for general circulation, while it is at the same time a contribution to the discussion of Socialist party tactics that the most experienced worker in the Socialist movement cannot afford to miss. A full analysis of the book will be found in the editorial notice of the German edition, published in the International Socialist Review for November, 1902, pages 310-312. The book is published in the Standard Socialist Series, neatly bound in cloth, at 50 cents, with the usual discount to stockholders.

Frederick Engels on Feuerbach.

An important work of Engels, though scarcely known to American readers, is his criticism on the philosophical writings of Feuerbach, a man of considerable prominence in Germany forty years ago, though now generally forgotten. Feuerbach rejected the dogmas of the church, and announced himself a Socialist, but he attempted to carry over into Socialism a mass of mystical vagaries devoid of any rational basis. His ideas won a certain amount of popularity among unthinking people, precisely as similar ideas under various names have their followers to-day. Engels took the trouble to give this philosophy a serious answer, and the answer makes good reading to-day. Austin

Lewis has made an admirable translation, with an explanatory introduction, and "Feuerbach" will appear early in March as the eighth number of the Standard Socialist Series.

Socialism Utopian and Scientific.

This classic of Socialism was first offered to American readers by our co-operative company in the standard translation by Edward Aveling about two years ago. The edition of five thousand copies has now been exhausted and a new edition has just been published. The new cloth edition is printed on heavy laid paper with wide margins, and is bound in extra silk cloth, uniform with other books in the Standard Socialist Series, of which this is the seventh volume. The price is fifty cents, with the usual discount to stockholders. The paper edition will be in the convenient pocket size as before, and will sell at ten cents.

New Numbers of the Pocket Library.

"Socialists in French Municipalities," number 16 of the Pocket Library of Socialism, which has been out of print some months, has now been re-issued with an added appendix by A. M. Simons on "Some Suggested Municipal Programs." Kropotkin's "Appeal to the Young," in the excellent translation by H. M. Hyndman, has just been published as number 36 of the Pocket Library. A full set of the 36 numbers will be mailed for \$1.00, single numbers five cents each. Stockholders in our co-operative company get single numbers for two cents each, or 100 for \$1.00, postage included. By express to stockholders \$8.00 a thousand, \$35.00 for 5,000. Nothing else quite so good for propaganda as these little red-covered booklets. Try them in your town and watch the vote.

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